











LEADERS OF A FORLORN HOPE

A STUDY OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND



# Leaders of a Forlorn Hope

A Study of the Reformation in Scotland

BY  
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LONDON : SANDS & CO.

15 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, W.C. 2  
AND EDINBURGH

1922

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"There is no real hope that has not once been  
a forlorn hope."—G. K. CHESTERTON.

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## Preface

PEOPLE of normal mentality are generally ready to allow that there are two sides to most questions. The only excuse for adding yet another volume to the mass of literature dealing with the Reformation in Scotland is that, whereas the shelves of our libraries are stocked with books setting forth the history of that movement from the Protestant point of view, there are very few which deal with it from the Catholic standpoint.

I can find no better words with which to introduce this little volume than those with which Abbot Quintin Kennedy prefaced, in 1558, his defence of the Faith of his fathers. May my readers consider it, "with such favour and good mind as did the Lord the poor woman, who, while others were giving richly, according to their ability, humbly offered her sober farthing."

CRAIGLOCKHART,

June 3rd, 1921.

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## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS<sup>1</sup>

- 1528 Accession of James V. Angus and the Douglasses banished for their intrigues against the king. They retire to England.
- 1536 Marriage of James to the Princess Magdalene of France. Embassy of Lord William Howard and Dr. Barlow to Scotland.
- 1537 Death of the Princess Magdalene.
- 1538 Marriage of James to Mary of Guise, Duchess of Longueville. David Beton created Cardinal.
- 1539 David Beton succeeds his uncle as Archbishop of St. Andrews.
- 1541 Sir Ralph Sadler sent by Henry VIII to Scotland to discredit the Cardinal and to suggest a meeting with James at York.
- 1542 Henry makes war on Scotland. Battle of Solway Moss. Birth of Mary Stuart. Death of James. The Earl of Arran Regent. Return of the Douglasses and the Solway prisoners as pensioners of Henry VIII. Imprisonment of Cardinal Beton.
- 1543 Sir Ralph Sadler sent to Scotland to negotiate a treaty for the marriage of the little Queen with Edward, son of Henry VIII. Mary crowned at Stirling by the Cardinal. Failure of the treaty. Plots of the "English Lords." Destruction of the Abbey of Lindores and other monasteries by the "Congregation."
- 1544 Cardinal Beton Chancellor of the kingdom. His popularity as head of the patriotic party. Henry VIII sends an army to invade Scotland. First plot to murder Beton. The sack of Arbroath by the Congregation.
- 1546 Second plot for the murder of Beton. George Wishart tried for heresy and burnt. Murder of

<sup>1</sup> According to modern dating.

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- the Cardinal. Knox joins the murderers in the Castle of St. Andrews. His call. Siege of the Castle by the Regent. The conspirators condemned as traitors. They surrender to Admiral Strozzi. Discovery of a register of their treachery in the Castle. Invasion of Scotland by Somerset. Battle of Pinkie.
- 1548 Mary Stuart sent to France for safety. John Hamilton made Archbishop of St. Andrews. He completes the Colleges there.
- 1549 Provincial Council held by Archbishop Hamilton for the reform of abuses in the Church.
- 1552 Another Provincial Council for the reform of abuses. Publication of "Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism."
- 1556 Knox preaches openly in Edinburgh, and is summoned to appear before the clergy. He retires to Geneva.
- 1557 The "English Lords and their adherents sign the 'First Covenant' binding themselves to support the Congregation, and to 'forsake and renounce the superstition, abomination and idolatry'" of the Catholic Faith.
- 1558 Marriage of Mary Stuart to the Dauphin of France. Publication of Abbot Kennedy's "Compendious Tractive." The "Beggars Warning." Mary of Guise summons the preachers for sedition. Knox preaches at Perth. Destruction of Churches and religious houses. Sacking of St. Andrews. Intrigues of the Congregation with England.
- 1559 Sacking of Holyrood, and seizure of the coining irons by the rebels. Edinburgh surrenders to the army of the Queen-regent. Knox goes to Berwick to confer with Croft. Sadler delivers £3000 to the Congregation. The Regent ordered to depart from Leith. She refuses. The rebels, "in the name of Francis and Mary," declare her deposed.
- 1560 League between the Congregation and Elizabeth. An English army joins the rebels. Death of Mary of Guise. The Treaty of Edinburgh. The August

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS 11

“parliament.” The Catholic religion renounced and the “Confession of Faith” adopted. Supplication of the brethren for the suppression of “Idolatry.” The Mass punishable by death. Fresh devastation of churches and monasteries. Death of Francis II of France, husband of Mary Stuart.

- 1561 The Lord James in France. Embassy of Leslie. Mary Stuart returns to Scotland.
- 1562 Conference at Ayr between Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, and John Knox. Ninian Winzet launches his “First Tractate” at the Reformer. He receives no answer. The “Third Tractate.” Raid on the printing office. Winzet obliged to leave the country.
- 1563 Archbishop Hamilton, the Prior of Whithern, and other priests accused of administering the Sacraments of their Church and imprisoned.
- 1565 Mary’s marriage with Darnley first projected. Plot of Moray to seize them both. His rebellion. He is proclaimed traitor and seeks refuge in flight.
- 1566 Murder of Rizzio. Return of Moray. Birth of James VI. Darnley’s treachery apparent to the Queen.
- 1567 Murder of Darnley. Trial and acquittal of Bothwell. Marriage of Mary and Bothwell. Insurrection of Moray and his party. Battle of Carberry Hill. Mary imprisoned at Lochleven and compelled to resign the crown. Moray Regent.
- 1568 Escape of Mary. Battle of Langside. She seeks the aid of Elizabeth. The conferences at York and Westminster. Bishop Leslie sent by Mary as her ambassador to Elizabeth.
- 1569 Plot of the Duke of Norfolk to liberate Mary and marry her. Norfolk betrayed by Leicester and Moray. Proposal of Moray that Mary should be given into his hands. Intervention of Leslie.
- 1570 Assassination of Moray by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. Lennox Regent. Persecution of the Queen’s party in Scotland.
- 1571 Fall of Dumbarton. Archbishop Hamilton taken.

## 12 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS

- Hanged in his pontifical vestments by Lennox. Death of Lennox. Mar Regent. Imprisonment of Leslie in the Tower. Severities of Morton in Scotland.
- 1572 Proposal for the assassination of Mary in Scotland. Sudden death of Mar. Morton Regent. Banishment of Leslie.
- 1580 Nicol Burne challenges the preachers to a disputation before the General Assembly. The challenge accepted. Burne imprisoned and excommunicated. He appeals to James VI. He is banished.
- 1586 Mary Stuart beheaded at Fotheringay.
- 1596 Death of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, last of the old Catholic Hierarchy.



# Leaders of a Forlorn Hope

## CHAPTER I

### CONFLICTING ELEMENTS

"A church, which to say nothing worse of it, was an anachronism."—Herkless. Cardinal Beaton.

"She saw the commencement of all the governments and all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world ; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all."

Macaulay. *Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes.*

The time is past when abuse and panegyric were accepted as history. Facts, rather than views, are demanded by the modern student, and emotion of any kind in their presentment tends rather to weaken the argument of the historian than to strengthen it. Through the publications of the Maitland and Bannatyne Clubs and other kindred societies the student of history has now convenient access to many documents hitherto buried in the State Paper Offices and private or National libraries. History has become largely a question of sifting evidence, and the result is a fairer estimate of men and events. Historians have even dared to question if the Reformation

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in Scotland has really proved such an unalloyed blessing to the country as has been so often and so emphatically asserted. Prejudice, however, dies hard, and religious prejudice hardest of all, for the reason perhaps, that it is often quite unconscious.

Perhaps the only way of obtaining a true history of the Reformation in Scotland would be to adopt the methods used in the administration of justice. Counsel for the prosecution, counsel for the defence, exhaustive examination of the witnesses on both sides, and a final summing up of the evidence by a competent and impartial judge. On this last point, however, the scheme would probably fall to pieces.

Yet, leaving the impossible judge out of the question, the preliminary steps would go a long way towards obtaining the desired result. What an advance towards the truth would be the elimination, as witnesses, of men proved to have deliberately distorted or misrepresented the truth, to further the interests of their party. All historians are more or less liable to inaccuracies; few can resist the temptation to present their own argument in the most favourable light, but this is quite another thing from the deliberate subversion of the truth for a particular end. It may be argued that in this case, the whole history of the Reformation would have to be re-written.

All that the writer on historical subjects can do, in these circumstances, is to bring to the

task as fair and open a mind as possible, and to accept no statement not borne out by the evidence of contemporary writers and records, or by the weighty consideration of fair-minded men who have given their lives to the study of both. Nor is this so simple as it would seem. Historians who acknowledge frankly that Knox, Calderwood and Buchanan misrepresent facts and are not to be trusted,<sup>1</sup> often quote them as authorities on the very subjects where their violent partisanship makes their evidence most to be suspected. They will urge in excuse of the rebellion of the Reformers against the civil power, the roughness and lawlessness of the times, but they will not admit, in excuse of the punishment of heretics by the Catholic prelates, the laws of the times against heresy.

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<sup>1</sup>“Lord Hailes has shown how little Knox’s statements are to be relied on even in matters which were within the Reformer’s own knowledge.” Robertson. Andrew Lang. *John Knox and the Reformation.*” Preface.

Grub (*Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, II, 187) speaks of “the false and slanderous accusations which he (Knox) used against his opponents, and this not merely in the heat of controversy, but calmly and deliberately in the closet.” The dramatic force and intense vitality of his narrative, “says Skelton, (*Maitland of Lethington*, I. xxiv)” must not blind us to the fact that he was a man of violent and unreasoning antipathies, who listened greedily to idle rumour and the gossip of the market-place.” The modern verdict on the worth of Buchanan as a historian is probably summed up in *Chambers’ Domestic Annals of Scotland* (preface). “With its eight centuries of fable in the front, and its glaring partisanship in the latter part, we cannot now attach much importance to Buchanan’s History.”



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It is on the question, perhaps, of the punishment of heretics, that the historical sense is most frequently lost, and the proverb, *autre temps, autre mœurs*, most frequently forgotten. Yet it is impossible to enter intelligently into the history of the Reformation in Scotland without some understanding of the spirit of the age with regard to this very matter. The Catholic Church was established in Scotland by the law of the land; the king, in virtue of his coronation oath, was bound to protect it, and the Primate, in virtue of his office, to uphold it. Heresy, *i.e.* the public advancement of any opinion contrary to the doctrines held and taught by the Catholic Church, was a crime punishable by the State. If the heretic, after having been examined and tried by the ecclesiastical court, refused to retract, it belonged to the civil magistrate to pronounce the sentence of death. The punishment may have been cruel, it may have been impolitic—the results go to prove that in certain cases it was—but that is beside the question. It was the law of the land, and the fact was well known; those who broke it did so with their eyes open.<sup>1</sup>

To the Catholic prelate the extirpation of heresy was a stern duty. Its promulgation set

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<sup>1</sup>“It is hardly historical,” says Andrew Lang, (*Hist. of Scot.* II. 422)” to regard the clergy as infamously cruel because they carried out the law of the land and the coronation oath by burning theological innovators, just as Henry VIII was doing in England; just as Presbyterian ministers, on the strength of texts, were presently to burn old women and (later) to hang a premature Biblical critic.”



the souls of his flock in danger, and souls were of more value than bodies. The case is well stated by Chambers in his *Domestic Annals of Scotland*—though with a difference—for he is defending the persecution of the Catholics by the Reformers of a later age.

“Having become satisfied that the Catholic religion was a system of damnable error, our ancestors acted logically on the conviction, and thought no measure, however forcible or severe, misapplied, if it could save the people of that persuasion from the unavoidable consequences and prevent the evil from spreading. To purge the land of Papists and idolaters, was, therefore, an object held constantly in view by the church courts.”<sup>1</sup> Now, if this holds good for the Reformers, it holds good also for the prelates of the Catholic Church—with this difference—that, whereas the clergy of the Catholic Church were upholding the ancient Faith which had been established by law in Scotland for 1300 years, the Reformers were introducing a new religion in defiance of the law.

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<sup>1</sup> *Domestic Annals*. I, 336. Luther's ideas on this subject were more comprehensive still. “If we send thieves to the gallows and robbers to the block,” he urges, “why do we not fall on those masters of perdition—the popes, cardinals and bishops—with all our force and not give over till we have bathed our hands in their blood? The Pope is a mad wolf, against whom everyone ought to take arms, without waiting for an order from the magistrate.” (“The mad wolf” was Leo X, the most peaceable of men, chiefly interested in art and learning.”)

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Another fact which historians are apt to forget when dealing with the punishment of heretics, is that in the civil courts the death penalty was frequently inflicted for offences which to the modern mind appear slight and trivial. As late even as 1819, no less than a hundred and fifty crimes were capital. Under the first three Georges a man might be hanged for stealing, to the value of forty shillings in a dwelling-house or to the value of five in a shop,<sup>1</sup> while the cutting down of a tree, the robbing of a rabbit-warren, even the counterfeiting of the stamps used for certificates of hair-powder were crimes punishable by death.

Burning, again was a form of punishment in general use in most European countries, and was not invented, as is sometimes supposed, solely for the benefit of heretics. It was the penalty for treason in the case of a woman in England, for poisoning and other civil crimes in France, and for the circulation of base coin in the Empire.

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<sup>1</sup> Persons convicted of robbing in a dwelling-house were executed unless the goods taken were below twelve pence in value.

W. Denton, *England in the Fifteenth Century*.

John Fitzjohn, writing in 1577, remarks. "If you pick or steal above twelve pence, by the laws of this realm it is death." A cut-purse named John Valmor was executed on 7th January 1612 for picking the pocket of one Leonard Barry; and Duke Frederick of Würtemberg, being cheated by certain alchemists, "caused an iron gallows to be erected at Stuttgart, and hanged four of them, one after the other."

John Vaughan. *Faith and Folly*, p. 302.

In Scotland, for the most part, criminals were hanged or strangled before being burned, although in Edinburgh in the year 1584, a baxter's boy was "burnt quick" without this merciful dispensation.<sup>1</sup> He had, apparently out of sheer boyish devilry, set his master's heather-stack on fire, thereby endangering some of the public buildings.

In 1554 some heretics were tried by Cardinal Beton and sentenced to death, four men being hanged and a woman drowned. This has been cited, together with other instances of the same kind, as an example of the Cardinal's cruelty. Yet we see the same punishment inflicted in the burgh court for offences which in these days would not be considered crimes at all.

Hanging in the case of a man, and drowning in that of a woman, were the penalties, during the frequent visitations of the plague in Scotland, for coming into a town or city from an infected area, for harbouring or conversing with strangers, or for concealing the fact when attacked by the disease. In the year 1529 a tailor of Edinburgh was sentenced to be hanged before his own door for having failed to inform the authorities that his wife was sick of the pestilence. He had gone from the infected house to Mass at St. Giles's church on Sunday morning, "thereby doing his best to infect the whole town."<sup>2</sup> A

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<sup>1</sup> Domestic Annals of Scotland. I, 336.

<sup>2</sup> Acts and Statutes of the Burgh of Edinburgh. Miscellany of the Maitland Club. Vol. II.



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woman called Marion Clark, who went about with the plague upon her, was sentenced to be "taken to the quarry-holes and there drowned." In 1585, during a bad outbreak of the disease in the north, the Town Council of Aberdeen caused a gibbet to be erected at the Market Cross, another at the Bridge of Dee, and a third at the haven's mouth. If any person came into the town by sea or by land, or any inhabitant harboured or gave food to such a one, the penalty was to be death, the men to be hanged and the women drowned.<sup>1</sup>

To a modern mind, this seems a barbarous punishment, but in the eyes of their contemporaries the members of the Town Council were merely doing their duty in trying, to the best of their ability, to preserve their townspeople from the danger of contagion. Now heresy was looked upon as a spiritual plague, and in the execution of the obstinate heretic, the prelate, in his own sphere, was doing the same thing.

It was not mere savagery and contempt of human life that led to the apparently reckless infliction of the death penalty in the mediæval codes of law. At the back of it lay the conviction—as old as Plato—that capital punishment was the most powerful preventive of crime, and that possible malefactors, seeing the sufferings entailed by breach of the laws, would be less

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<sup>1</sup>Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen. 1570-1625.

likely to transgress. The discovery that to make life unendurable was more effectual as a means of religious persuasion than death, was to be made later by the Reformers, and to be used successfully against the Catholics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As a matter of fact Cardinal Beton was looked upon by some of his own contemporaries as inclined to be altogether too lenient in his dealings with heretics. "More than once," says Skelton,<sup>1</sup> "the old women who were burnt during a single twelvemonth, because they rode on broomsticks to a midnight meeting with the devil, or turned themselves into cats and disturbed the neighbours with their caterwauling, outnumbered the heretics who were burnt during the whole period between 1536 and 1558 by 'those bloody beasts,' 'those ravenous wolves,' 'those slaves of Satan,'<sup>2</sup> Cardinal David Beton and Archbishop John Hamilton." It must be noted, moreover that in pre-Reformation times in Scotland, torture, either in trials for heresy or for civil crimes, was little used, whereas in the trials for witchcraft of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "wirrying" was employed to such an extent that the unfortunate victims were ready, in their agony, to confess anything that was suggested to them.

Yet Cardinal Beton, in Scottish history, retains,

<sup>1</sup> Maitland of Lethington.

<sup>2</sup> Epithets culled from Knox and Calderwood.

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for the most part, the characteristics attributed to him by the implacable animosity<sup>1</sup> of Knox. It is interesting, in this connection, to compare the manner in which our Scottish historians have dealt with the reputation of Cardinal Beton and that of Spottiswood, first Protestant Archbishop of St. Andrews. Spottiswood is generally represented as a wise, learned and judicious man, of whom his country had every reason to be proud. Burnet, it is true, qualifies his praises with the remark that he was of "no great decency in his course of life," but this is almost the only hint that anything was amiss. When, however, in 1637, the General Assembly of the Kirk declared war on prelacy and proceeded to excommunicate the bishops, the indictment against Spottiswood included graver moral crimes than any imputed to the prelates of the old Church. This indictment remains buried—perhaps justly—in the records of the Assembly of the Kirk, and Spottiswood's reputation—perhaps justly also—has suffered no hurt. Yet, by this decision, we are forced, by the almost unanimous consent of historians, to two conclusions. First, that the accusations of a man's enemies, even if supported by such weighty evidence as a decree of the General Assembly, may safely be discounted.

<sup>1</sup> "Had it not been for the implacable animosity of Knox," says Skelton, "the youthful irregularities of the great Cardinal might possibly have been forgotten. There is little in his character and career to justify the bitter invectives of the Reformer." Maitland of Lethington. I, 187.



Secondly, that the ministers of Spottiswood's days, as well as those of the generation before them, cannot be exonerated from the charge of "forging dishonest things" against one whom they had cause to hate.

That the Church was in need—dire need—of reform, not only in Scotland but in Europe generally, was frankly acknowledged by every earnest Christian of the sixteenth century. "All moral bounds had been loosened by the spirit of the Renaissance," says Green,<sup>1</sup> and the Church as well as the world was feeling the effects. The spirit of worldliness and materialism among the clergy was denounced and deplored by saint and satirist alike. "He who desires most to see the apostolic character manifested in the Pope, is most in his favour," wrote Erasmus, an outspoken critic of the worldliness and vice of churchmen. Yet Erasmus remained to the last the friend of bishops and popes, of More and Fisher and others who shed, or were ready to shed their blood for the Faith, and nothing annoyed him more than to be accused of holding heretical opinions, or of favouring the doctrines of Luther.<sup>2</sup> Like John Major, Ninian Winzet,

<sup>1</sup> History of the English people. Vol. II, 223.

<sup>2</sup> "Erasmus was a reformer in the best sense, as were so many far-seeing and spiritual churchmen of those days. He had no desire to pull down or root up or destroy under the plea of improvement. That he had remained to the last the friend of popes and bishops and other orthodox churchmen,

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Quintin Kennedy, and other distinguished men of the time, he could distinguish between the evil lives of the clergy and the unvarying truth of the Church's doctrines. "In all I have written," he declared, "I have never deviated one hairsbreadth from the teaching of the Church. They have asked me to draw up a formula of faith. I have said that I know of none save the creed of the Catholic Church, and everyone who consults me, I urge to submit to the authority of the Church."<sup>1</sup>

At the root of most of the abuses prevalent in Scotland—as elsewhere—lay the old evil of state encroachment on the right of the Church to elect her own bishops and abbots. The foisting of court favourites, utterly unfitted for the charge, into vacant sees and abbacies, the successful intrigues of the nobles to secure church benefices for younger or illegitimate sons, are borne witness to by all the records of the time. The decree of 1457 which confirmed to the Crown the unconditional right of presenting to benefices during the vacancy of an episcopal see, prevented the Church, to a great extent, from stemming the tide of evil by the election of wise and worthy

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is the best evidence over and above his own words, that his real sentiments were understood by men who had the interests of the Church at heart, and who looked upon him as a true and loyal, if perhaps a somewhat eccentric and caustic son of Holy Church." Gasquet. *Eve of the Reformation*.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 501



men, while the efforts of those among the clergy who had the welfare of the Church at heart were too often neutralised by the selfish worldliness of these intruded prelates.

“Here and there,” says Edgar in his *History of Education in Scotland* “wise, earnest and far-sighted abbots were trying to restore the ancient discipline and to rear up a new race of cultured and pious monks. And the Church began to show in its Councils a clear desire and determination to wipe out the disgrace attaching to it, by insisting on a higher standard of religious and secular education for its clergy, and providing for the more thorough instruction of the masses of the people in religious truth. The Provincial Council held first in Linlithgow and afterwards in Edinburgh<sup>1</sup> enacted in 1549 some important Statutes regarding education. The extracts from the decrees of these Councils furnish evidence beyond suspicion both of the need of education among clergy and people, and also of the determination of the Church to insist upon immediate improvement.”

In the March of the following year another Provincial Council was held, to deal with the question of reform. “It was the last Provincial Council of the Church of Scotland,” says Professor Hume Brown, “and if the expression of its good intentions could have availed, the Church might yet have been saved. All that its

<sup>1</sup> They were two separate Councils.

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worst enemies had said as to its shortcomings was frankly admitted, and admirable decrees were passed with a view to a speedy and effective reform. But as was speedily to be seen it was revolution and not reform on which these new teachers were bent, with an ever-growing confidence that their triumph was not far off."<sup>1</sup>

"The Scottish Reformation was a social and economic, much more than a religious revolution," says Colville.<sup>2</sup> "It drew its chief inspiration by no means from the sins and shortcomings of the old Church."

Were things quite as bad, we may be permitted to ask ourselves, as Knox, Buchanan, Lyndesay and other writers of the Reforming party would have us believe? "He has consulted too many broadsheets and too few charters" wrote Sir John Skelton of Macaulay's History. "A charter never caricatures, whereas to the party wit or satirist caricature is as the breath of his nostrils."<sup>3</sup> The student who brings a fair mind to the investigation of the fifty years preceding the Reformation in Scotland must allow that churchmen of culture and piety were not lacking. Not to mention that great and holy prelate, William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen and founder of its University, we have John Major or

<sup>1</sup> Hume Brown. *Hist. of Scotland*, II, 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Social England*.

<sup>3</sup> *Essays, Historical and Biographical*.

## Conflicting Elements 27

Mair, Provost of the College of San Salvador, of whom even Knox allows that "his word was held as an oracle in matters of Religion." He wrote a "History of Greater Britain," which, after having been systematically decried for over two hundred years, is now acknowledged at its true value. "What has been called in the nineteenth century the critical spirit is to be traced in it from the first page to the last," says Mr. Æneas Mackay in his preface to the modern reprint. "With regard to the facts of his history he shows a wonderfully sound historical instinct, distinguishing truth from the fables with which the Scottish annals were then incrustated. In this respect he is superior to his contemporary Boece, and even to Buchanan, who copied Boece in the earlier part of Scottish history."<sup>1</sup>

Alexander Myln, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, first President of the College of Justice, or Court of Session, founded in 1532 by James V, was, says Tytler,<sup>2</sup> "a man equally remarkable for his learning and talents and for the primitive simplicity of his deportment." He died in 1543 and was succeeded in his legal office by Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, "an accomplished scholar who loved to encourage learning wherever he found it, and who, notwithstanding his

<sup>1</sup> "Hector Boece died in 1531, and John Major about 1550, and both, by their works and their teaching, were ornaments of their time." Hume Brown, *Hist. of Scotland*, I, 399.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Craig*.



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numerous avocations, ever kept in mind that his diocese was entitled to his chief care and devoted himself with unceasing energy to its improvement."<sup>1</sup>

The third president of the College of Justice was Henry Sinclair,<sup>2</sup> Dean of Glasgow, and later Bishop of Ross. Nominated in 1554 by the Regent, Mary of Guise, he made many necessary reforms in the laws and statutes of Scotland. He was succeeded in 1566 by his more brilliant brother, John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig and later Bishop of Brechin, "one of the ablest opponents of the Reformation in Scotland, who employed his leisure time in compiling the earliest record which we possess of the decisions in our supreme court, well known to the legal antiquary under the title of "Sinclair's Practicks<sup>3</sup>." "Twa sik honest and cunning letterit men as they were," says a contemporary writer, of these two churchmen, "will be seldom or never seen to come of one house or family of this realm, the one for his singular erudition had in the law for administration of justice in the commonwealth, the other for his singular intelligence had in theology and likewise the law. They were both

<sup>1</sup> Grub. Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> Knox calls him "ane perfect hypocrite and conjured enemy of Jesus Christ."

<sup>3</sup> Frazer Tytler. Life of Craig, 86, 87.

presidents of Justice at the time of their decease.”<sup>1</sup>

Henry Sinclair’s predecessor in the see of Ross was David Panter, “a man of excellent genius, whose letters to the Pope and the different princes of Europe could only have proceeded from a mind of high cultivation, replete with the lessons of civil wisdom.”<sup>2</sup> He died in 1559.

Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, nephew of the famous Bishop of Aberdeen of the same name, the acts of whose wise and holy life remain to us in contemporary records, is described by Buchanan, as “a pious and learned man, although somewhat wanting, in the opinion of certain men of his age, in political wisdom.”

John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, employed by James V. to translate Boece’s History of Scotland, has furnished us with the first specimen of Scottish prose extant.<sup>3</sup> His translation was published in 1536.

“The genius of Dunbar and Gavin Douglas”—the one a priest and the other a bishop—“is sufficient,” says Sir Walter Scott, “to illuminate whole centuries of ignorance.” “His temperance

<sup>1</sup> Diurnal of Ocurrents.

<sup>2</sup> Ruddiman. Preface to 2nd vol. of *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*.

<sup>3</sup> “As the translator of Hector Boece and Livy, Bellenden exhibited qualities as a writer which afford interesting proof of the influence of the revival of learning on the cultured mind of Scotland.”

Hume Brown. *History of Scotland*. I. 399.

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and moderation, honesty and uprightness," says Buchanan of the latter, "gained him the confidence of all parties."

Alexander Anderson, Principal of the University of Aberdeen at the time of the Reformation, summoned with several members of his staff to Edinburgh to answer for his staunch adherence to the Faith of his fathers was, says Grub, "distinguished for his learning and virtues."<sup>1</sup> According to Leslie's account, he defended his position with much ability. Having refused to sign the Confession of Faith and to join the Reformed church, he was deprived and excommunicated, dying, some years later "at the king's horn."

Such names as those of the Betons, Quintin Kennedy, Ninian Winzet, John Black,<sup>2</sup> a learned Dominican and ardent champion of the Faith, who was killed in Holyrood on the night of Rizzio's murder, and John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, "whose history of Scottish affairs does honour to himself and to his order,"<sup>3</sup> close

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, II.

<sup>2</sup> "Black was a learned Dominican who had roused considerable animosity against himself by his stout advocacy of the ancient faith, and it was at the hands of the followers of the Earl of Morton that he met his death."—William Moir Bryce. *Holyrood*, xxxiv.

Leslie calls him "a true defender of the Catholic doctrine, and in Edinburgh striving for the same stoutly in public."—*Hist. S.T.S. Book*, X, 455.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham. *Church History of Scotland*, I, 208.

a by no means comprehensive list which goes far to prove that, although, as Kennedy, Winzet and other Catholic writers of the time themselves frankly avowed, vice and ignorance were only too common among the clergy, the assertion that the whole body was rotten is untrue. Perhaps the best proof of this lies in the words of James V, who, living in the midst of his people and fully conversant with their vices and virtues, must be allowed to be a competent judge. "God forbid that if a few be not good, for them all the rest should be destroyed," he replied to Sadler, when urged by that worthy to rob the Church after the example of his royal uncle. "Though some be not good, there be a great many good, and the good may be suffered and the evil must be reformed, as ye shall hear that I shall help to see it redressed in Scotland, by God's grace, if I brook life. . . . Methinks it against reason and God's laws to put down these Abbeyes and religious houses which have stood so long and maintained God's service."<sup>1</sup>

Times have changed since the history of the Reformation was first written, in the glow of party passion and personal spite, and it can be proved from the State papers of the period that it was primarily a political movement. The hands that were pulling the wires in England are now visible, and the revelations of the motives

<sup>1</sup> *Sadler's Papers*, I, 30, 31.



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both of pullers and pulled can scarcely be described as edifying.

As early as 1524 the disgraced and banished Douglasses were in the pay of Henry VIII<sup>1</sup> who was aiding and abetting them in their efforts to do all the mischief they could to their unfortunate country. Bothwell, also in disgrace with the young king, had offered to crown Henry in Edinburgh, *with Angus's aid*.<sup>1</sup> By 1535 more than a hundred of Scotland's nobles had been seduced from their allegiance to James by the bribes and promises of the English king,<sup>3</sup> while the spies of the Douglasses were abroad throughout the land, keeping their masters well posted in all that was going on in Scotland. On their return to that country after James's death Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas at once became the leaders of the Reforming party, bound by a secret bond to work in Henry's interests.

"The ringleaders in this rebellion, whom the ignorant adore as Reformers," wrote David Craufurd,<sup>4</sup> were no more than pensioners to a

<sup>1</sup>In 1532 Angus had made an agreement with Henry to give his services against his country for an annuity of £1000 yearly. *Pinkerton*, II, 317.

<sup>2</sup>Northumberland to Henry, Dec., 1531. The Earl of Angus was head of the family of Douglass.

<sup>3</sup>*State Papers*. Letter from Otterburn to Thomas Cromwell. 18th Oct., 1535.

<sup>4</sup>*Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*. Dedication, ix.



foreign crown, and men who prostituted the honour of their native country for a yearly fee." This is unpleasantly put—but true, Keith gives the list of pensions and the names of the pensioners.<sup>1</sup>

"It must be admitted," says Skelton, "that the Scotch nobles of that age were about the basest, the most unscrupulous, the most corrupt aristocracy of which history contains any record. Treachery was their native air. Some of the Catholic peers still retained a certain old fashioned, old-world sense of honour ; but to the Protestant peer, who had embraced the Reformed doctrines for his own aggrandisement and who adhered to them because he had great material interests bound up with Protestantism, the word was not in the dictionary."<sup>2</sup> This is a sweeping assertion, but no one who brings an unbiassed mind to the study of men and matters in Scotland in the sixteenth century will deny its fundamental truth.<sup>3</sup>

Deeds may be presented in many lights, but a man's writings are a human document, in which more can be read than is written. All the biographies of Knox, for instance, are valueless when compared with that marvellous book, his

<sup>1</sup> *Church and State in Scotland.* Book I, 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays, Historical and Biographical.*

<sup>3</sup> "Henry and his minions of Scotland were to be known as the champions of the reformed religion, and through corruption and betrayal the Reformation in Scotland was to be accomplished."—Herkless. *Cardinal Beaton.*

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"*Historie of the Reformation in Scotland.*" They are at best what A, B, and C thought of the man, whereas the *Historie* is John Knox himself, a complete, because wholly unconscious self-revelation.<sup>1</sup> Knox has been accused by several historians of hypocrisy and deliberate untruthfulness. Perhaps a truer estimate of him is that of Skelton: "the worst that can be urged against him is an entire absence of sound judgment, charity and tact."

But this is merely negative, and there was much that was exceedingly positive in Knox. He was intensely strong, intensely vehement, intensely narrow. It is difficult to believe that he was a hypocrite, consciously at least; he was a man who saw what he chose to see and believed what he chose to believe,—whether it were true or not. We can imagine him standing at the bar of posterity charged with wilful and deliberate perversion of the truth, and answering, with a flash of the old fire and vehemence, together with an intolerant impatience at the degenerate squeamishness of the modern mind, that what he had said and done was said and done for the furtherance of God's interests. And on that adamantine armour of self-confidence and self-righteousness the argument that God's interests are not served by lying and slander would have broken itself in vain.

<sup>1</sup> "Of all the revelations in this book," says the historian Hill Burton, "none is more remarkable than its writer's own character. Whether it be for the adoration of the just or the malignity of the wicked, John Knox is ever the conspicuous figure in John Knox's book."—*Hist. of Scotland*, III, 340.

We see in his *Historie* how murder may be a "godly fact"—if it conduces to the triumph of his own cause,<sup>1</sup> how a murderer may be "a man most noble and gentle"<sup>2</sup> provided he kills the right man, how a good and holy bishop—being a Catholic—"lived as a beast, and as a beast he died,"<sup>3</sup> and how a gentle and long-suffering woman, for the same reason, "was a blasphemous railer and possessed by the devil."<sup>4</sup>

The *Historie* was written by Knox as the justification of his own doings and those of his party; in it we find crystallised the mentality of the Reformers, and for that reason alone it is

<sup>1</sup> The murder of Cardinal Beton. (The words are suppressed in later editions of Knox's *History*.)

<sup>2</sup> James Melville, who after haranguing Beton, drove his sword several times into his body.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, who restored the cathedral of St. Magnus at Kirkwall, founded there a school, erected a cathedral chapter, and left in his will certain sums for the education of the sons of the gentlemen at the universities. He also bequeathed 8000 marks for the foundation of a college in Edinburgh, which sum was applied in 1581, by the magistrates of Edinburgh, to the purchase of a site on which were erected the University buildings. "Bishop Reid may therefore be justly regarded," says Bellesheim, as the founder of Edinburgh University." Cosmo Innes, in an article in the *Quarterly Review* (vol. lxxii, pp. 393, 394), pays an eloquent tribute to the virtues, learning and piety of the last Catholic Bishop of Orkney, and to the "blessed influence" which he exercised over his remote diocese.

<sup>4</sup> Mary of Guise, mother of Mary Stuart.



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one of the most valuable documents of the time.<sup>1</sup> Spottiswood, an ardent admirer of Knox, refused to believe that he was the author of the *Historie*, now undoubtedly proved to be his work. "The scurrilous discourses we find in it," he says, "and the spiteful malice that author expresseth against the Queen Regent are more fitting a comedian on the stage than a Divine or Minister such as Mr. Knox was. A greater injury could not be done to the fame of that worthy man than to father upon him the ridiculous toys and malicious detractions contained in that book."<sup>2</sup> The injury to the fame of Knox was done by his own

<sup>1</sup> "The very essence of Christianity is cast to the winds when Knox utters his laughter over the murders or misfortunes of his opponents."—Andrew Lang. *John Knox and the Reformation*.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Church of Scotland*, 1655. Spottiswood's attitude is honest and consistent. He had a great admiration for Knox, to whom his father owed his influential position as Superintendent of Lothian. He could in no wise reconcile that admiration with the "History of the Reformation" ascribed to the Reformer and now acknowledged to be his work, and persistently refused to believe that Knox could have been its author. Later editions of the *Historie* present this difficulty in a lesser degree, being carefully expurgated for the edification of modern readers. Many of the most characteristic utterances of the Reformer are certainly not very suitable for publication, and this is ascribed, by Knox's admirers, to the coarseness of the times in which he wrote. Yet it is noteworthy that the indecency and scurrility which soil the pages of Knox are singularly absent in the contemporary History of the Catholic, Leslie, and in the controversial works of Knox's two great opponents, Quentin Kennedy and Ninian Winzet. The criticism of Spottiswood, moreover, seems to point to the fact that the tone of the *Historie* caused some astonishment even in the early seventeenth century.

hand ; “ out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh.”

Given then the fact that many of the nobles in Scotland were in the pay of the English Crown, and ready to betray their country into the hands of their enemies ; that all these men were, from various motives, upholders of the new religion and sworn to the destruction of the Church ; given the forceful personality of Knox and his extraordinary power of influence ; given the fact that the abuses in the Church laid her open to attack, and the fatal indifference of her many unworthy members served to neutralise the efforts of the faithful few ; given the ignorance of the people, too often dependent for their religious teaching on clerics who were incapable of satisfying their needs ; the reason for the title of this book will be sufficiently evident. Those who were striving against such desperate odds to uphold the Catholic Church in Scotland were indeed leading a forlorn hope, and the end was a foregone conclusion.

## CHAPTER II

### CARDINAL BETON <sup>1</sup>

"A wicked monster, which neither minded God, nor cared for man."—Knox. *Historie.*

"The zealous guardian of his Church, and the ablest Scottish statesman of his day."—Herkless. *Cardinal Beaton.*

IN the early spring of 1536 there arrived at the court of James V of Scotland, two English ambassadors, Lord William Howard and Dr. Barlow, Bishop-elect of St. David's. Their instructions, given by Henry VIII himself, were explicit and detailed. They were to convey to the Scottish king his royal uncle's desire for a personal interview and to offer to pay his expenses if he would go to London and assist at the impending meeting between the kings of France and England. Barlow was to impress, "dulcely to inculce," on the King of the Scots the blessings of the new religion lately established by Henry in England, and to draw a tempting picture of the wealth to be secured by seizing, after his example, the property of the Church. The Bishop-elect was to make his advice more

<sup>1</sup> The name is spelt in various ways—Beton, Betoun, Beaton, Bethune. The Cardinal himself usually signed "Beton."

impressive by suitable quotations from Holy Writ. James was to be informed that the Pope was inspired by Lucifer, and was the modern representative of "the king who knew not Joseph." He was to be advised to imitate, as Henry had done, the example of the good king Josias, and to practise "the praised policy of Jehu." Owing, no doubt, to the inspiration of Lucifer already mentioned, the Pope had failed to discover in the execution of Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher a direct analogy to the massacre of the priests of Baal, conspicuous as it must have been to everyone, but James, Henry had reason to believe, was a man of intelligence.

The two ambassadors were to go about their business delicately. They were to be careful not to irritate the Scottish king, and above all not to drive him to take counsel with his Bishops, or others likely to be inimical to Henry's "godlye procedinges." They were to sound, with the greatest care, "by chance and of themselves," such nobles and other members of the King's Council who might be "inclynable to the advancement of the truth." They were also to "bete it into the hede" of the Queen Mother—Henry had cause to know the mentality of his sister—that their advice, if taken by James, would be greatly to that lady's own benefit, and to induce her, if possible, to prevent her son from discussing the matter with his clergy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hamilton Papers*. Vol. I. Introduction. pp. 18-28



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James listened to these proposals with grave courtesy. He desired the ambassadors to thank his royal uncle for his kindness, but to tell him that he preferred "to hold to God and Holy Kirk as his ancestors had done these thirteen hundred years past." As for the proposed meeting, it could not be undertaken without the consent of the Council of the Realm, which was now sitting, and should be consulted on the matter.

"The Council," wrote Barlow in disgust to Cromwell, "is composed of the papistical clergy, the Pope's pestilent creatures, and very lymmes of the devyl."<sup>1</sup>

The Scottish clergy have been severely blamed for their refusal to consent to the proposed meeting between James and Henry, but, as they could not have failed to be aware of the recent exploits of the English king, it is not surprising that they should have opposed it.<sup>2</sup> Only a few years later Henry was to submit to his horrified Council a plan for seizing James within his own dominions and carrying him off forcibly to Carlisle. "The wisest and most disinterested man in Europe," says Andrew Lang, "had he been in James's Council, must have felt

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers*, V. 39-41.

<sup>2</sup> "Wherefore all request our king" writes Leslie, "and prays him that nothing he think of that journey, except he would put his head in the widdie" (halter). *History. Book IX* p. 251.



that to go south was to make a gambler's cast of the dice."<sup>1</sup>

Henry was well aware to whose agency he owed the failure of his schemes. The Scottish Council, as Barlow had declared to Cromwell, was composed almost entirely of the clergy,<sup>2</sup> and, paramount among them, in virtue of his brilliant talents as diplomatist and statesman, stood David Beton, Abbot of Arbroath and Lord Privy Seal.

The third son of John Beton of Balfour and nephew of James Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, David Beton was also a near kinsman of the Earl of Arran, head of the great house of Hamilton and, failing direct heirs of James V, next in succession to the throne. Born in 1494 and educated at St. Andrews, Glasgow and Paris, at which latter University, as well as at Orleans, he distinguished himself as a brilliant student of civil and canon law, David Beton was appointed, at the age of twenty-five, Scottish Resident or Envoy at the court of France.<sup>3</sup> In 1523 his

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Scotland*, Vol I.

<sup>2</sup> "To be plain with you," wrote Sir Ralph Sadler to the English Privy Council a few years later, "though they" (the Scottish nobles) "be well-minded" (to Henry's policy) "and diverse others also that be of the Council and about the king, yet I see none of them that hath any such agility of wit, gravity or experience to set forth the same, or to take in hand the direction of things. So that the king, as far as I can perceive, is of force driven to use the bishops and clergy as his only ministers for the direction of his realm."

<sup>3</sup> Hay. *Panegyric on Cardinal Beton*. Gordon. *Scotichronicon*. Herkless. *Cardinal Beton*.

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uncle, James Beton, on his translation to the primatial see, wrote to the Cardinal of St. Eusebius asking that the monastery of Arbroath of which he was Commendatory Abbot, might be conferred on "his dearest nephew, chancellor of the Church of Glasgow," and that the Cardinal would do his best to obtain for the said nephew a dispensation from assuming the monastic habit for two years.<sup>1</sup> David Beton was at that time a student of the law and not in Orders,<sup>2</sup> and there was evidently some obstacle in the way of his making the monastic vows. That the dispensation was duly obtained and the obstacle removed is proved by the fact that in 1525—just two years later—David Beton took his seat in Parliament as Abbot of Arbroath. It has been asserted that the dispensation was asked on account of his youth,<sup>3</sup> but as Beton was twenty-nine when the letter was written, and the custom of bestowing abbeys upon mere children was deplorably prevalent, this seems highly improbable.

"Cardinal Beton's moral character has been as much mangled by Knox, Buchanan and Sir David Lindsay," says Lyon, "as his body was by his assassins. The unproved assertions of avowed

<sup>1</sup> *Epist. Regum Scotorum* I, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> He is alluded to in the official documents as "Clericus Sancti Andreae Diocesis,"

<sup>3</sup> Gordon. *Scotichronicon*.

enemies can be of no weight against any man”<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact there exists no definite proof of any charge against the Cardinal save that of his connection with Marioun or Mariota Ogilvie, daughter of the Earl of Airlie, by whom he had several children. There is a persistent tradition, mentioned by Lyon, Carruthers, Douglas and others<sup>2</sup> that there had been an early marriage between them, although the Acts of legitimatisation of the children would seem to contradict the supposition. It is quite possible, however, that the marriage may have been one of the irregular unions so common in Scotland at the time, and that the two years delay, asked and obtained by Beton’s uncle, the Archbishop, were occupied with its annulment. In this case, the children would count as illegitimate, and the mystery of Beton’s inability to take the vows—never satisfactorily accounted for—is solved.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *History of St Andrews*, I. 305.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> See Archbishop Beton’s letter to Rome on this matter. In the first edition of Douglas’ *Peerage*, 1764, we find (re Marion Ogilvie) that Lord Ogilvie had “a daughter Marion, said to have been married to David Bethune, a younger son of the Laird of Balfour in Fife, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews and Cardinal : by him she had issue several children before he entered into holy orders.” In the second edition, revised by John Philip Wood, 1813, the entry has undergone a change. “Marion, said to be the mother, by Cardinal David Bethune, Archbishop of St. Andrews, of Margaret, married, 1546, to David, eighth Earl of Crawford.



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Whether there was a marriage or not, however, the evidence seems strongly in favour of the fact that the affair took place before Beton was in orders, and that the assertion that it continued till his death, supported only by the word of Knox, and accepted unquestioningly by later authors, is false. Lord Herries, who alludes to the Cardinal in no friendly terms, expressly states, when speaking of the marriage of his daughter Margaret to the Master of Crawford, the year before Beton's murder, that "she was the Cardinal's base daughter, gotten before he was a priest."<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Sibbald, writing some 140 years later makes the same statement. "The Cardinal's friends say," he writes, "that it was before he was a churchman, and so under no vows, when he was simply a student of the laws, and the greatest families of the kingdom are descended of him by his daughter's marriage with the Earl of Crawford."<sup>2</sup>

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In the Scots Peerage, founded on Wood's edition of Douglas and edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, 1904, matters have advanced a step farther. "Mariota, Domina de Melgund. She owes her prominence in Scottish history to her position as mistress of Cardinal David Beton. She remained with the Cardinal until his death." Sir James Balfour Paul gives no proofs for this last assertion. As far as I am aware there are none, unless the random statement of Knox, who was not present at the murder of the Cardinal, and who is convicted by Spottiswood of "forging dishonest things" against his enemies, can count as such.

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs*.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Fife and Kinross*, 1684. Nether-Tarvet.

Archibald Hay, a Catholic priest, later Principal of St. Mary's College, who wrote in 1540 a *Congratulatory Panegyric* on Cardinal Beton, speaks of him in the warmest terms. He alludes to the excellent instruction he had received from his parents, the rapid progress made in his education at Paris, the skill he showed in the negotiation of the King's two marriages, the regard entertained for him by the king and nobility of France and the improvement and endowment by him of St. Mary's College. He ends by reminding him of his responsibilities, and of how much his conduct and example would influence his countrymen for good or evil.<sup>1</sup>

Now it is quite conceivable that Hay wrote the *Panegyric* to curry favour with the Cardinal, and filled it with the kind of flattery he thought would be most acceptable to him, but it is less conceivable that, this being the case, and the Cardinal being a man of scandalous life, he should have prefaced his *Panegyric* with a scathing denunciation of the ignorance and immorality which prevailed among many of the churchmen at the time. The panegyric is either a bitter satire, which under the circumstances seems unlikely, or the life of the Cardinal, whatever may have been the errors of his youth, contrasted

<sup>1</sup> Ad illustriss. Tit. S. Stephani in monte Coelio Cardinalem D. Davidem Betoun, Primatem Scotiae, Archiepiscopu S Andreae, Episco. Meripoconsem De fœlici œcessione dignitatis Cardinalitiæ, gratulatorius panegyricus Archibaldi Hayi.



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favourably with that of many of his contemporaries.

That David Beton governed his monastery of Arbroath with a firm hand is shown by the regulations he laid down for the chaplains. "I will and ordain that the chaplain who is in residence shall regularly celebrate the Divine Office in the said chapel, and shall preach on Feasts and Ferias. And that at the hour of matins on great feasts the canons should go in procession in becoming dress, and that the said chaplain should not allow another to take his place or say Mass at any other altar, and that he should use the vestments given by me." If he failed in his duties or was a man of bad character, he was to be removed and another put in his place.<sup>1</sup>

One of the first acts of James V on assuming the reins of government was to confer upon Beton the important office of Lord Privy Seal. From henceforth he became the young king's chief adviser and most trusted friend. It was at the joint request of James of Scotland and Francis I, who had already bestowed upon him the bishopric of Mirepoix in France, that David Beton was raised to the Cardinalate.<sup>2</sup> He had been named, a few months later, coadjutor, with right of succession, to his uncle, and, on the death of the latter in the autumn of 1539, suc-

<sup>1</sup> *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*, 2nd Part, Bannatyne Club.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon. *Scotichronicon*. Bellesheim. *The Catholic Church of Scotland*.

ceeded him as Archbishop of St. Andrews and Primate of Scotland. "To his bishoprick of St. Andrews," writes Leslie of the death of James Beton, "one wise man of a good courage and stout spirit he left, David Beton, Cardinal, his brother's son."<sup>1</sup>

By the order of the new Primate more than eight chalders of meal were distributed to the honest poor in the town of St. Andrews, that they might pray for the repose of the soul of the late Archbishop, nor was this the only occasion on which this great statesman showed a kindly interest in the poor of his flock. In 1538, on the occasion of the great pestilence at St. Andrews, he caused the burgh fermes to be remitted, and in 1544 ordered a distribution of meal to certain poor persons suspected of having the plague.<sup>2</sup>

David Beton entered upon the duties of his primacy with the energy that characterised all his actions. He instituted a vigorous prosecution of heresy, took up the work of the building of St. Mary's College at St. Andrews, inaugurated by his uncle, and wrote a letter to the Pope asking him to appoint a suffragan to assist him in his numerous duties. His letter on this occasion is that of a man of zeal and energy, anxious lest the prosperity of his diocese should suffer on account of the amount of state business in which he was obliged to engage.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Scotland*, Book IX.

<sup>2</sup> *Rentale St Andr.*

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“Most Holy Father,” he writes, “the greater the dignity with which Your Holiness has invested me, the greater should be my care to deserve it and to govern the affairs of the Church with wisdom. But as I am unable to feed and watch the flock committed to my care in the manner I could wish, from the weight of secular business with which I am oppressed, which daily increases, and which the King desires, nay, forces me to sustain, I have thought of proposing to your Holiness some one who would in part relieve me when engaged about the affairs of the State, and supply my place in the diocese of St. Andrews when I am obliged to be absent from it. I have therefore fixed upon one who is fit above all others for discharging the episcopal functions, namely Master William Gibson, a man fully instructed in sacred theology, and in both canon and civil law, as well as venerable for the purity of his life, to be recommended to your Holiness, on whom may be conferred the episcopal dignity and who may be made my auxiliary, reserving to him at the same time, the deanery of Restalrig, the rectory of Inverarity, and the vicarage of Garvock, which benefices he now possesses, and adding thereto £200 yearly of the money of this kingdom, to be paid during his life by me and my successors, whereby he may the more suitably sustain the episcopal dignity and functions. That your Holiness may be pleased to appoint him my auxiliary I request, and even implore ; the more so, because I am occupied about the affairs of the Church



and this kingdom, and not my own private advantage.

I pray God that He may give me the disposition which He gave to the servant in the parable, that I may show myself worthy of His vocation and of your choice, and, like him, render a true account of the five talents committed to my trust. May your Holiness live long and happily. At Edinburgh May 4th 1540.”<sup>1</sup>

In the meanwhile Howard and Barlow had returned from their unsuccessful embassy, to find that Henry VIII of England was by no means pleased with the result of their endeavours. Beton, a staunch upholder of the old alliance with France,<sup>2</sup> and mistrustful, as every patriotic statesman since the days of William the Lion, of “our auld enemies of England” had successfully frustrated his plans. Henry, realising that he had encountered one who was more than his match in diplomacy, had recourse to his favourite weapon of craft. Having succeeded in intercepting on its way to Rome a letter in which the Cardinal asked to be named legate a latere, assuring the Pope that he did so at the express wish of James, Henry despatched Sir Ralph Sadler, a less clumsy diplomatist than Howard, to Holyrood. He was to show the letter to the Scottish king and to

<sup>1</sup> *Epistolae Regum Scotorum. Vol. II, 66.*

<sup>2</sup> Friendship with France and enmity to England were feelings common to all patriotic Scotsmen for generations before the Reformation.—Herkless. *Cardinal Beaton.*

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make him believe that the Cardinal was plotting secretly with Rome to usurp the supreme power.

We have the account of the interview in Sadler's own words,<sup>1</sup> which give us incidentally a glimpse of the king's frank graciousness, enlivened with an occasional flash of humour. On his first arrival at the palace Sadler found the king and queen assisting at Mass, after which they greeted him courteously and appointed a day for a formal audience. On Sunday morning at nine o'clock, he was conducted from his lodgings to Holyrood palace. Having shown off the horses which he had brought as a present from Henry, Sadler was invited to stay to dinner, the Cardinal, who was present, together with several of the Council, taking him by the arm to lead him to "the chamber where the lords used to dine."

"They made me sit at the highest place," he wrote, "and entertained me very gently." If he had been subject to scruples, the genial courtesy of the man whose reputation he had come to ruin might have occasioned him some discomfort, but he records no such qualm. After dinner he was re-conducted to the privy chamber, where the king, leading him into the deep embrasure of a bay window, invited him to declare his errand.

Sadler now proceeded to enlarge upon the fatherly affection which Henry felt for James, in proof of which he desired him not to put too much trust in the Cardinal, who, as Henry had good

<sup>1</sup> *Sadler's State Papers.* Embassy to Scotland, 1540, Vol. I.



reason to know, was corresponding secretly with Rome. To this the king replied that he knew all about the correspondence, the Cardinal having given him the letters to read before despatching them. Was His Majesty quite sure, insinuated Sadler, that the letters he had been shown were those that had been sent to Rome? "If your Grace do see the original, then ye shall perceive if it agrees with the copy."

The Cardinal was in the room, says the ambassador, so he had to use some dexterity in producing the intercepted letter and slipping it into the hand of the king, who, taking it, "read it through softly, every word from the beginning unto the end," and returned it to Sadler, merely repeating that he had already seen the copy.

The ambassador now did his best to try to construe some of the passages of the letter into treason, but with no success. "I assure your Majesty," he writes to Henry, "he excused the Cardinal in everything, and seemeth wondrous loath to hear of anything that should sound as untruth in him, but rather gave him great praise."

The first part of his embassy having failed, Sadler proceeded to the second, urging the Scottish king to think of "the great gain and profit that should accrue to the Crown," if he were to suppress the monasteries and appropriate the Church lands and revenues. "By my troth," answered the king gaily, "I thank God I have enough to live on, and if we need anything, we may have it at our pleasure." The monks led

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bad lives and were lazy, persisted the ambassador. "God forbid that if a few be not good, all the rest should be destroyed," answered James. "Though some be bad, there be a great many good, and the good may be suffered and the evil must be reformed, as ye shall hear that I shall help to see it redressed in Scotland, by God's grace, if I brook life. Methinks it against reason and God's law to put down these Abbeys and religious houses, which have stood so long and maintained God's service."

"I shall seek nothing of any man but love and friendship," said the king at another interview with Sadler, "and, for my part, I shall hold my word with all princes, and for no man living shall I stain mine honour for any worldly good, by the grace of Jesu." "And so he gave me a very courtly countenance," writes the ambassador, "with his cap in his hand, and bade Walter Ogilvie and Sir John Campbell to accompany me to my lodging."<sup>1</sup>

The negotiations for a meeting, "as far within England as possible" were also doomed to failure. "The prelates and churchmen promised to James mountains of gold, (as Satan their father did to Jesus if He would worship Him)" wrote Knox, "for rather would they have gone to hell than he should have met King Henry."<sup>2</sup> "In the inter-

<sup>1</sup> *Sadler's State Papers. Embassy to Scotland.* Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> *Historie of the Reformation.* John Knox.

ests of the Church and of the State," says Professor Herkless, "Beton surely acted wisely when he refused his consent to the meeting at York."

Henry, who was not accustomed to be thwarted in the attainment of any object on which he had set his heart, vowed vengeance on Scotland in general and Cardinal Beton in particular. The banished Douglasses were in England, ready—for a consideration—to offer their services against their country, and the disaster of Solway Moss, together with the capture of many of the Scottish nobles, helped greatly to further Henry's plans. The captives, after having been made to feel the humiliation of their position, were offered freedom if they would pledge themselves to do all that they could to make Henry virtually monarch of their country.<sup>1</sup>

Ten of them, including the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the Lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville and Grey, "as men pretending to a more near and earnest devotion to the King's Majesty," now signed a secret article, promising that if, in the case of the decease of the little Queen of Scotland, "it would please His Grace to take the whole rule, dominion and government of that realm upon him . . . we, now His Grace's

<sup>1</sup> They were to seize and deliver up Cardinal Beton and the little queen, to make Arran subservient to Henry, and to give up the chief fortresses of Scotland into his hands.

"It is plain," says Andrew Lang—*Hist. of Scotland*, I., 463, "that the prisoners won their liberty by disgraceful treason."



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prisoners, shall, to that purpose, when we shall be at libertie in Scotland, serve His Majesty after our powers, with bodies, puissance and hearts to our uttermost.”<sup>1</sup> The key to much that was done “to the furthering of Christ’s Evangel” in the years that immediately followed, is to be found in this document, for all these men were upholders of the new religion.

“The history of Scotland in the four eventful years that followed the death of James V,” says Andrew Lang,<sup>2</sup> “is the tale of one man’s battle with destiny. On Beton’s death or life hung the victory of the old or the new. He was actually successful in the unequal contest, and yielded at last only to that ultimate argument, the dagger.”

On James’s death in December, 1542, the Cardinal, Argyle, Huntly and Moray were appointed joint governors of the realm. Knox declares that the Cardinal forged the will by which this arrangement was made, yet, in the letter of Lisle to Henry, announcing the appointment, no mention is made of a will. “Far from there being any word of a forged will proclaimed by the Cardinal on Dec. 19th, he is not even said to have suggested his own presence on the board of Regents.”<sup>3</sup> It is strange, moreover, if a charge

<sup>1</sup> *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. I., p. 375. The copy of the open and secret articles whereunto the lordes of Scotland hath sett their hands, (endorsed by Wriothesly.)

<sup>2</sup> *History of Scotland*, Andrew Lang, Vol. I, p. 458.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Scotland*, Andrew Lang, Vol. I, p. 460-463.

of forgery could possibly have been preferred against the Cardinal, that Henry should have written in the following year to Sadler of the "English Lords," that "we could never yet hear from them what special thing they had to lay against the Cardinal when they took him."<sup>1</sup> "If the Cardinal was really guilty of this crime," says Keith,<sup>2</sup> "it seems hard to conceive how it came not to be laid to his charge when he was laid up in prison."

"It has been often said," says Buckle,<sup>3</sup> "that this will was forged ; but for such an assertion I cannot find the slightest evidence, except the declaration of Arran, and the testimony, if testimony it can be called, of Scotch historians, who do not profess to have examined the handwriting and who, being themselves Protestants, seem to suppose that the fact of a man being a Cardinal qualifies him for every crime. In regard to Arran, his affirmation is not worth the paper it is written on."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of Church and State in Scotland*, Book I, p. 25, note.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Civilisation*. Buckle. Vol. II, p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> In 1536, when James went to France to arrange his marriage and appointed a Regency to govern the realm in his absence—of several months duration—Cardinal Beton was one of the six men chosen as "Lords of the Regency. What more natural than that he should have been chosen again, by a king who, as Sadler allows, "seemed wondrous loath to hear of anything against him, but rather gave him great praise,"



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Lord Herries, a contemporary writer, thus sums up the situation: "The Cardinal, at the beginning, foresaw a storm, and (as is said), made haste with a Convention wherein he was established Regent. But now, on the return of these prisoners. . . there was another Convention, in which the Cardinal was deposed and the Earl of Arran was made Regent. Several sorts of persons wrought this revolution for two several ends. First those who thought that Arran, if Mary died, would succeed. Secondly those who affected the new doctrines and wanted the ruin of the Cardinal and clergy. Sir Ralph Sadler, ambassador, arrives, desiring peace and the marriage.<sup>1</sup> The Queen Mother and the Cardinal opposed this with all their power and was very like, by the Cardinal's wisdom and gravitie, to stop the business. Arran imprisons the Cardinal until votes were taken and the propositions agreed to."<sup>2</sup>

It is certain that Beton had strongly opposed the return of the Douglasses, who could not have failed to realise that he would be an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the fulfilment of their promises to Henry. "This was done," writes the unknown author of the *Diurnal of Occurrents* of Beton's imprisonment, "by the counsel of the Earl of Angus, whose purpose was to destroy the kirkmen and their religion. The lords who were

<sup>1</sup> Between the little Queen of Scotland and Prince Edward.

<sup>2</sup> Herries. *Memoirs*.

prisoners in England made ane bond to the king of England that, as soon as our young Queen's grace come to ten years of age, she should marry the prince of England. The lords caused the Governor to consent to the same, the Cardinal being in prison." "Every lord did for his own particular profit," says another entry in the *Diurnal*, "and took no heed of the common weal, but tholit (suffered) the Englishmen and thieves to overrun this realm. There was no credit among the nobility at this present."

Sadler had been despatched to Edinburgh as ambassador, with instructions to do all that he could to urge Argyll, Moray, Huntly and other of the lords to show more conformity with Henry's "godlye purposes." Having secured the treaty of peace and the marriage, he saw that it would be impossible for the moment to hope for more, and tried to break the news as gently as might be to his enraged master. "Above all," wrote the Privy Council to Suffolk, "let the Douglasses take heed that the Cardinal escape not, for, if he do, let them all look for certain confusion."<sup>1</sup>

The advice came too late, the Cardinal was free, but the manner of his liberation remains something of a mystery.

On March 20th, wrote Sadler to his royal master, he had seen Sir George Douglas,<sup>2</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> Feb. 1542, *Hamilton Papers* Vol I.

<sup>2</sup> Brother of the Earl of Angus.

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had declared to him that he (Douglas) was "in chief credit" with the Governor; that he had caused him "to put down the Cardinal, who was, and would have been, chief enemy to the King's purposes." He had so wrought upon Arran, that he had "brought him wholly to the King's Majesty's devotion," and "clean altered him from France," so that "he and all this realm shall be wholly dedicate to His Majesty." He could do no more at present, however, on account of the strong popular feeling against England. "If we go about to bring obedience of this realm unto England, there is not so little a boy but he will hurl stones against it, the wives will come out with their distaffs, and the commons universally will rather die in it, yea, and many noblemen and all the clergy are fully against it." If any more is done "Scotland will be wholly turned against England." Slow treachery in this case will be much more effective than open force.

"Many have been sore offended," continues Sadler, "at the imprisonment of the Cardinal, but the Governor has been very staunch." He has declared that he (Beton) shall never come out of prison whilst he lives, except it be to his further mischief. The ambassador informs his master that he had taken advantage of these excellent dispositions. "*I sayed it were pitie but he should receive such reward as his merits did require.*"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sadler to Henry VIII Feb 20th 1542. *Hamilton Papers*, Vol I.



A few weeks later Beton was in his castle of St. Andrews, and Arran was declaring to Sadler that the Cardinal was a prisoner in his own house.<sup>1</sup>

What had happened in the meantime? Had Arran been attacked by a scruple of conscience—the Cardinal was his mother's first cousin—or was popular opinion too much for him? Even the Douglasses seem to have realised that it would be impolitic to keep the Cardinal in prison any longer. The people were murmuring loudly and saying openly that Angus and his brother were traitors to their country. They had promised more than they could perform.

“The ignorant and common people grudgeth much his (the Cardinal's) keeping in prison,” wrote Lisle to Suffolk, “and speaketh it openly that the Governor was a good man till he rounded with Angus and his brother.”<sup>2</sup>

In the Parliament then sitting, he wrote a little later, the clergy and the commons had petitioned that “the Cardinal be restored to liberty and his former estate, unless treason to the Crown could be proved against him.” The diocese was under an interdict, and a Blackfriar preaching daily by order of Arran and Angus, had to be protected

<sup>1</sup> Sadler to the Privy Council, Ap. 1st *Hamilton Papers*, Vol I.

<sup>2</sup> Lisle to Suffolk, March 16th *Ibid*,



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by their followers from the fury of the populace.<sup>1</sup> "The town of Edinburgh at this time," says Knox, "was drowned in superstition,"—in other words staunchly Catholic.

The treaty had been carried through by force, says Herries, and now the country awoke to the fact that "they had promised away their Queen and the whole kingdom with her, to their "old enemies." "The verie common people condemned their actions, and cried out upon them, railing upon the English Ambassador to his face and affronting him." Many nobles repented and consulted the Queen (dowager) and the Cardinal, now free, who advised a meeting of all "who adhered to the ancient league with France and loved best the religion of their fathers." There was a general consent to "cross the business and delay the ratification."<sup>2</sup>

Arran, an easy-going individual with no strength of character, was entirely under the influence of those who happened to be with him at the moment. What remnants of conscience he may have possessed had been awakened by the return from France of his illegitimate brother, John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, who exerted all his influence to induce him to return to the Church, to break with the Douglasses and their party, and to throw in

<sup>1</sup> *Hamilton Papers*. Vol I. The Blackfriar, says Lesley, was an apostate, and preached against the Pope's authority, which would account for the fury of the people.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs*.

his lot with the Cardinal. "Beaten with these temptations," says Knox, "the unhappy man surrendered himself to the appetites of the wicked."<sup>1</sup>

Sadler, in the meantime, urged on by Henry, was trying to persuade the Governor to apprehend Beton and to send him a prisoner into England.<sup>2</sup>

To this proposal Arran refused to listen, protesting that the party of the Cardinal was "strong in alliance within this realm." A fortnight later the ambassador is obliged to admit that Beton, partly on account of his imprisonment and partly as leader of the patriotic party, was now "the most popular man in Scotland." A spy has told him, writes Parr to Suffolk at the same time, that many of the noblemen of the country are "addicted to the Cardinal," and "most part of their sons and near kinsmen, and the commonaltie in every place throughout Scotland is clearly given, and leaneth unto him and his adherents."<sup>3</sup>

In spite of Arran's assurances, Sadler was beginning to suspect mischief. He implied as much to Henry, who wrote in desperation on August 3rd that if the Governor would let him have "the whole dominion on this side the Frythe," he would assist him both by sea and

<sup>1</sup> Knox, *Historie*.

<sup>2</sup> Sadler to Privy Council, June 29th 1543. *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> Parr to Suffolk. *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. I.

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by land, "until he had made him king" of "all the rest beyond the Frythe."<sup>1</sup> Sadler was also to propose a marriage between Arran's son and the Princess Elizabeth, and to warn everyone against "the machinations of the Cardinal." Could not the Governor take Beton prisoner, and drive him over the Forth? If the Cardinal and his party refuse to agree to the ratification of the treaties, he writes again on August 24th, Arran must declare them rebels and must do what he can to apprehend them. "This is the only way to daunt the Cardinal."<sup>2</sup>

But Henry had reason to know that Beton was a hard man to daunt; he had also reason to know the venality of many of the Scottish nobles; bribery might succeed where force had failed. Sadler was instructed to "practise with the Cardinal with fair devises, and promises of as great friendship at Henry's hands as he could ever hope for from the French King or Bishop of Rome if he would leave his red cappe, and serve England faithfully and truly." It says much for the character of the Cardinal that the proposition was ignored by Sadler. Beton was incorruptible, and the ambassador knew it.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Henry VIII to Sadler, August 3rd. *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> The same to the same. *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> "Though Henry now offered bribes," says Herkless (*Cardinal Beaton*) "and now threatened his liberty and even his life, Beaton kept loyal to the national sentiment and true to the national policy of Scotland.



best thing, he replies to his master, would be for him to write to the Douglasses and the English faction to "stycke firmly together," with great promises of help and advancement if they do. Unless Henry means to send a large army at once, under the pretext that the treaties are frustrated, it would be better to wait till a more favourable time of the year. Sir George Douglas has told him that "the war and divisions which shall be here among themselves will make them easier to deal with when that time comes. The Cardinal and his party are at Stirling. It is said that they will crown the young Queen at the Assembly."<sup>1</sup>

Three days later Sadler writes to Suffolk and Tunstall of a rumour that the Governor has gone to Stirling to join the Cardinal. "The English lords are abroad preparing their forces; we do not dare to go in the streets for fear of our lives. The Black and Grey Friars and the Abbey of Lindores have been sacked by the Congregation." A gathering in Edinburgh, he says, would have sacked the Blackfriars there, but "the whole town, both men and women, defended the friars," and expelled the aggressors out of the town. He never saw "people so wild or in such fury."<sup>2</sup> Parr, writing at the same time to Suffolk, informs him that he has been told by Sir George Douglas

<sup>1</sup> Sadler to Henry, Sept. 1st, *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Sept. 4th. Sadler to Suffolk and Tunstall, *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. II



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that in the three several raids to be made on the Border,<sup>1</sup> any who are not of the Cardinal's party, but are favourable to England, are to be spared. Sadler, he says has assured him that the best way "to grieve and annoy" Henry's enemies is "to be a scourge unto them on the Borders," to destroy the corn, and make them either submit, or fly and be in penury. "Thus the Holy Trinity send your Grace good health with increase of honour."<sup>2</sup>

The next piece of news that Sadler had to break to his enraged master was that Arran had openly joined the Cardinal, and had done penance for his apostasy in the Franciscan Church at Stirling.<sup>3</sup> The young Queen had been crowned by Beton on the following Sunday, while Angus, with his confederates, had retired to Douglas Castle, where they had signed a bond pledging themselves to do their uttermost to fulfil their engagements to the English King. This bond having been found, together with other treasonable papers, on the persons of the lords Somerville and Maxwell, arrested on one of their journeys south to further a Douglas intrigue, Angus and his brother were cited on a charge of treason at the Parliament which met in December. The treaties with England were annulled, on the

<sup>1</sup> The two countries were nominally at peace at this time.

<sup>2</sup> Sept. 4th. Parr to Suffolk *Hamilton Papers*, Vol II.

<sup>3</sup> Sadler to Henry VIII, Sept. 5th. *Hamilton Papers*, Vol II.

ground of Henry's injustice and bad faith ; the alliance with France was renewed ; fresh acts were passed against heresy, and the Cardinal was appointed Chancellor of the realm.

This was gall and wormwood to Henry. "Why do not they stop all this?" he writes to Angus, "and get the Cardinal, the Governor, and the little Queen into their hands?" He is to assure the English lords that Henry will aid them, "both with men and money, by sea and land." It would be as well not to write this, he adds, but to speak it by word of mouth at Douglas.<sup>1</sup>

"Unless Angus and the rest of our friends," he writes to Sadler, "deliver into our hands the two perturbators of all good unity and peace, (which would be the best thing) or at least deprive them of all honour and authority, we can hardly be persuaded to any pact or agreement with Scotland. If they be strong enough, let them step to it, and if they lack power we shall send them aid enough, if they see to it that the two do not escape."<sup>2</sup> In their place a Council of twelve was to be established, named by Henry.

The plan was impossible, replied Sadler. Sir George Douglas had told him that "all the King's Majesty's friends here will not be able to get the little Queen out of Stirling Castle," so well guarded was she by the noblemen appointed

<sup>1</sup> Sept 11th. Henry VIII to Angus. *Hamilton Papers* Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> Sept. 30th. Henry to Sadler, *Hamilton Papers* Vol. II.

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by Parliament for that purpose. Sir George had suggested, however, that, if Henry would "advance a convenient sum of money," they (such as be the King's Majesty's friends), would undertake to besiege the Cardinal in his Castle of St. Andrews, and Stirling Castle as well, "to see if they cannot get hold of both." But the proposal to depose Arran and give him up too, was out of the question. He had been made Governor by the Parliament, and Parliament only could depose him. There is a rumour, adds Sadler, that Arran and Beton have secret information of Henry's plan to invade Scotland, and are sending out to prepare an army for the defence of their country.<sup>1</sup>

This was true. The Cardinal had called on all who loved their Faith and their country to rally to the defence of both. The clergy met at St. Andrews, and a sum of ten thousand pounds, to be levied as a tax upon all benefices exceeding forty pounds in annual value, was enthusiastically voted in support of a war in defence of national independence.<sup>2</sup> "They have resolved that they will, for the maintenance of the war, give all the money they have, and also their own plate and their churches' plate—as chalices, crosses, censers, and all—leaving nothing unspent in that quarrel."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sadler to Suffolk, Oct. 5th and 6th.

<sup>2</sup> Bellesheim. *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*.

<sup>3</sup> Sadler, *State Papers*, Vol. I, 204.



“While this loyal spirit pervaded the Papal party,” says Cunningham, “the Protestant nobles were pocketing pensions from the English King, and pledging themselves to unite their banners to his for the conquest of their fatherland.”<sup>1</sup>

Things were looking bad for the English party. “As far as I can see,” wrote Sadler to the Privy Council on October 30th, “the whole body of the realm is inclined to France, for they do consider and say that France requireth nothing of them but friendship, whereas on the other side, England, they say, seeketh nothing else but to bring them into subjection, and to have superiority and dominion over them ; which universally they do so detest and abhor, as in my poor opinion they will never be brought into it but by force.”<sup>2</sup> He is persuaded, he writes again early in the following month, that the English Lords will never do what Henry wants, unless powerfully aided by English troops. “Surely, if it shall please God to send the King the accomplishment of his *gracious and godly purposes*, it will be with His Majesty’s own force and power.”<sup>3</sup> Sir George Douglas, in the same month, gets his instructions from Suffolk. The Borders are to be put down first, and the Douglasses are to “*lay their hands to help the King’s subjects to do it*,” their forces and the King’s are

<sup>1</sup> *History of Scotland*, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> Oct. 30th, 1543. *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. II.

<sup>3</sup> Sadler to Privy Council. Nov. 6th.



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then to join, "one to help the other, so that their enemies will not be able to stand." This will prove "a great abashment and overthrow" to the said enemies, and also "great honour and comfort to the King's Majesty."<sup>1</sup>

There is a note of weariness in a letter written by Cardinal Beton to Marcellus Cervini, Cardinal of the Holy Cross, in the December of the same year.<sup>2</sup> "I have informed you of the state of the country," he writes, "unless my letters have been intercepted by enemies, who obstruct the roads, lest anything of ours should get through. I have often spoken to you of the sorrows of this kingdom, and of my labours for the common good. I have spent my life in arduous toil, in weariness and in anguish, that I might avert dangers from others. I do not shrink from the labour, the burden, and the danger, if perchance I may restore peace, nourish concord, overcome schism, and root out heresy. In order to conciliate all, I gladly suffer hardship, nor do I doubt that my labours are pleasing to his Holiness, whose help I have filially striven to obtain for the defence of this kingdom against our old enemies the English." The tender age of the infant Queen, he continues, the turbulent character of the people, combined with the treachery and cruelty of their enemies, make the defence of the country

<sup>1</sup> Nov. 9th, Suffolk to Sir George Douglas. *Hamilton Papers*, II.

<sup>2</sup> *c.f. Scotichronicon*, II, 282.

no easy matter. "All things are in Christ's Hands," he ends, as if with some foreboding of his own impending fate.

Henry meantime was furious at the failure of all his schemes. "They have not sticked to set the crown of Scotland upon my head," he writes indignantly of his pensioners. "Where is become now all their force and courage? If they be men of power indeed, as often times they have said themselves to be, let them stick to it like men of honour and courage. Let them do some exploit upon their enemies." Suffolk is to tell Sir George Douglas and the rest that if they want money they shall have four thousand pounds as soon as they "have done *any notable enterprise* upon our enemies, or shall give hostages *for the performance of some notable exploit* within a given time."<sup>1</sup>

What was this "notable exploit" to be? Evidently the murder of Cardinal Beton.

He thinks an invasion by land would be better than one by sea, writes Suffolk to Henry, Feb. 28th, 1544. They should go to Edinburgh and take the town and castle. "To destroy on both sides the Frith near the ships shall never the nearer be of your Majesty's godly and noble purposes."<sup>2</sup>

Hertford, who was to command the English army, writes a few weeks later, greatly com-

<sup>1</sup> Henry VIII to Suffolk. Nov. 12th.

<sup>2</sup> *Hamilton Papers*, II.

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mending the brilliant suggestion of the king that, whenever the Borders were raided or burnt, the invaders should stick bills on the church doors or other "notable places" certifying that the people might "thank their Cardinal therefor." He thinks it "a very good and grave device to cause the realm to bear hatred unto him."<sup>1</sup>

On April 10th, Hertford got his instructions from the Privy Council. They give us some insight into the mentality of Henry.

"His Majesty's pleasure is that you put all to fire and sword, burn Edinburgh town, let it be so rased and defaced when you have sacked and gotten what you can of it, as there may remain forever a perpetual memory of the vengeance of God lightened upon them for their falsehood and disloyalty. Do what ye can out of hand and without long tarrying to beat down and overthrow the Castle, sack Holyrood House, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye may conveniently, sack Leith and burn and subvert it and all the rest, putting man, woman and child to fire and sword without exception where any resistance shall be made against you, and this done, pass over to the Fifeland and extend like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages wherever ye may conveniently reach, not forgetting among the rest so to spoil and turn upside down the Cardinal's town of St. Andrews, as the upper stone may be the nether,

<sup>1</sup> Hertford to Henry, March 21st.



and not one stick stand by another, sparing no creature alive within the same, especially such as, either in friendship or blood, be allied to the Cardinal." The Wardens upon the Borders are also to invade by land, and "burn and destroy to the uttermost." In the meantime, (*war not being as yet declared*), the Borders were to be "tormented and occupied, especially as it is seed-time, and if they do not get time to sow their crops there will be a famine the following year."<sup>1</sup>

It was about this time that Hertford and others wrote to inform Henry that a "Scottishman called Wysshert" had brought a letter containing a double proposal. Kirkcaldy of Grange, late Treasurer of Scotland, together with the Master of Rothes and one John Charteris, were ready to attempt "to apprehend or slay the Cardinal on his passage through Fife," if Henry approved of the plan. In the second place these persons desired pay for a thousand or fifteen hundred men, with whose aid, when the English should have arrived in Scotland, they, joined by the friends of the Earl Marischal, Calder and Lord Grey, would undertake "to destroy the Cardinal's Abbey and town of Arbroath, and other abbots' and bishops' houses north of the Forth, when these should have sent their forces to resist the English." Wysshert guaranteed that all these persons would bind themselves by

<sup>1</sup> Privy Council to Hertford. April 10th, 1544. *Hamilton Papers* II.



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writing under their seals, *before they asked for any money.*<sup>1</sup>

On April 24th a proclamation was made declaring war if the treaty for the marriage was not ratified, "giving you to understand that the very ground and occasion of this your trouble and calamities, which now God of His mighty Hand sendeth upon you, is the Cardinal and the Earl of Arran."<sup>2</sup>

A few days later the Privy Council informed Hertford that "Wysshert which came from Brunston," had seen Henry, and had been assured that, if the noblemen and gentlemen named "*would do the feat against the Cardinal*" a refuge would be provided for them in England. If they would do their best, Hertford might give them a thousand pounds.<sup>3</sup> The Brunston mentioned in this letter, felicitously, if inaccurately, described in one of the English documents of the time as "the Lard Brimston"<sup>4</sup> was perhaps the basest of the group of scoundrels in the employment of the Douglasses and their faction.

For some unknown reason "the feat against the Cardinal" fell through. In the May of the following year, however, the Privy Council,

<sup>1</sup> Hertford and others to Henry VIII. April 17th, 1544 *Ham. Papers*, II.

<sup>2</sup> *Hamilton Papers*, II.

<sup>3</sup> Privy Council to Hertford. April 26th, *Ham. Papers*, II.

<sup>4</sup> Hertford to Henry. *State Papers of Sir Ralph Sadler*.

writing to Hertford, alludes to certain letters from Cassilis to Sadler, which Henry has seen, and which contain an offer for "the killing of the Cardinal, if Henry would have it done and would promise, when it were done, a reward." His Majesty "does not think it meet that the fact should be set forth *expressly by him*, he will not have to do in it, yet mislikes not the offer." If Sadler had any right feeling he would say to the Earl that anyone in Cassilis's place who could do Henry such good service, would not hesitate to act.<sup>1</sup>

This, however, was not good enough. Sir George Douglas wanted a definite warrant and a definite reward. He despatched a letter to Sadler by an English spy declaring that "if the King would have the Cardinal dead, and if His Grace would offer good reward for the doing thereof, *and it were known what it should be*," it might be managed.

It was at this opportune moment that Brunston underbid the too grasping Douglas by offering to "take the Cardinal out of the way for a small sum of money." Sadler approved the idea and declared that it would certainly be "an acceptable service to God," and incidentally to His Majesty. The liberality and goodness of the King is so well known, he suggests, that his

<sup>1</sup>For the whole correspondence on this matter and the identity of the man called Wysshert with George Wishart, the martyr, see Fraser Tytler, *History of Scotland*, Appendix vol. III.

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friends may feel sure of a reward. Yet, *if the execution of the matter do rest on the reward*, Brunston is to let him know, and if his demand be not unreasonable, "for the Christian zeal that he has for the commonwealth of the country," he will undertake that it be paid, should he have to bear the cost himself. The project again fell through: Henry would not commit himself directly by a definite promise of reward, and the assassins would not act without it.

On the 20th of October Brunston wrote again to Hertford. His friends were ready to serve Henry, but His Majesty must be plain with them, as to what he would have them to do and how much he would give for doing it. He has matters of importance to impart and would like to speak with Hertford very secretly at the Castle of Berwick, "for it standeth me both in life and liberty if it be known."<sup>1</sup> The Scottish correspondence from the last day of October, 1545 to the 27th May, the date of Beton's murder, is missing: it probably referred to the amount demanded and granted by Henry to the assassins, for it is quite evident that they refused to move without the King's definite promise and concurrence. Among the murderers were Kirkcaldy of Grange and the Master of Rothes, two of the men who had offered their services for killing Beton as he passed through Fife.

<sup>1</sup> Fraser Tytler. *History of Scotland*. III, Appendix. From original in State Paper Office.



"The political events of 1544 and 1545," says Professor Herkless, "when Henry wrought disaster in Scotland and tried to overthrow her independence, made Beton the most popular man in the country. The popularity was deserved, as it was he who successfully baffled the plans and intrigues of Henry and the English Lords."<sup>1</sup> It has been generally believed that the Cardinal lost that popularity by the execution of Wishart.

The burning of Wishart<sup>2</sup> who, whether he were "the man called Wysshert" or no, was undoubtedly hand in glove with the Douglasses and their party, certainly increased the hatred of the Reformers for the man who had successfully overthrown all their schemes, but the opinion of the mass of the people on the subject of heresy and heretics is graphically depicted by Knox himself on the occasion of the rout of the reforming party from Edinburgh thirteen years later. "The despitiful tongues of the wicked railed upon us," he says, "calling us heretics and traitors; everyone provoked the other to cast stones at us. We would never have believed that our natural countrymen and women would have wished our destruction so unmercifully, and have so rejoiced in our adversity." The words of Beton's murderers, when they showed his

<sup>1</sup> *ardinal Beaton.* Herkless.

<sup>2</sup> Wishart was hanged and his body burnt, as was usual in Scotland.



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bleeding body to the multitude: "see there your god," hardly suggest unpopularity.

Was the man called Wysshert who came from Brunston, George Wishart the martyr? The evidence, though strong, is purely circumstantial. "It is difficult to resist the conviction," says Fraser Tytler, who gives the evidence in full,<sup>1</sup> that this secret agent of the conspiracy against the Cardinal which was hatched by the Laird of Brunston, Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, Norman Lesley, Master of Rothes, and John Charteris as early as April 1544, was either George Wishart or Wishart of Pitarrow, his brother. "It is just possible," says Cunningham, "that the Wishart mentioned in the Earl of Hertford's letter may not have been the martyr, but his close intimacy at the time with every one of the conspirators leads one to suspect that he was."<sup>2</sup>

The question, however, is immaterial. It was on conviction of heresy and not of treason that Wishart was executed. He had begun in Bristol, in 1539, by denying the merits of Jesus Christ as Redeemer, but had recanted and "burnt his fagot." He then went abroad and translated the Confession of Faith of the churches of Geneva.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Craig*. Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Scotland*, Vol. I p. 193

<sup>3</sup> Published in Vol. I of *Miscellany of Wodrow Soc.* In it he says: "All who depart from the societie and fellowship of the holy Church should be constrained and punished if they obstinately do resist and will not obey the Church, for the entent that they should not infect and corrupt the flock of God." Beton was only carrying this theory into practice.

In 1542 he was at Cambridge, where he took pupils for a year or so, returning to Scotland in the following year with Sir George Douglas and others of the "English Lords." He had openly avowed his intention of "preaching the truth" in his own country and proceeded at once to perambulate the midland counties of Scotland, under the armed protection of the principal conspirators, denouncing Popery,—*i.e.* the Church by law established and the Catholic Bishops. "Not to mention his preaching without a canonical authority," says Lyon<sup>1</sup> "his consecrating the Eucharist and exercising the most solemn part of the sacerdotal function looks wholly indefensible, although he excused himself by asserting that all Christians were priests."

It was hardly likely, in the interests of public order as well as the defence of the Faith, that Beton would allow Wishart to go free. Sir George Douglas had openly declared his resolution to defend the preacher, and Knox was marching in front of him with a two-handed sword,—which presumably, he was ready to use for the same purpose. Wishart was arrested and tried for heresy by a Council of bishops and clergy. He maintained to the last his own opinions, denouncing the doctrines of the Catholic Church as "pestilential, blasphemous and abominable." He was condemned to death, hanged and his body "burnt to poulder."<sup>2</sup> The story of

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of the University of St Andrews.*

<sup>2</sup> Knox. *Historie.*

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Buchanan and Lindsay of Pitscottie, that the windows of the Castle of St. Andrews were hung with tapestry as for a festival, is probably legendary. Knox, in the earlier edition of his history and Sir David Lindsay in his "Tragedie of the Cardinal," make no mention of it and it is hardly to be believed that they, Beton's greatest enemies, would have passed over such a fact in silence. The dying Wishart is reported to have said: "He who in such state, from that high place, feedeth his eyes with my torments, within a few days shall be hanged out at that same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he who now leaneth there in pride." "If those are Wishart's words," says Professor Herkless, "they are the witnesses of his meanness of soul. The prophecy could not have proceeded from a store of supernatural knowledge; and those who believe that Wishart was a prophet, must be able to show that he was not speaking with something like a criminal knowledge of intended murder."<sup>1</sup>

Wishart's friends vowed vengeance.; they had another score against the Cardinal. John Leslie, uncle of Norman, Master of Rothies, is said to have sworn that he would have blood for blood. The plot for murdering Beton was probably ripe.

The Leslies, moreover, had a private grudge against him. "Sir James Colvil of Easter

<sup>1</sup> *Cardinal Beaton.*



Weems," says Fraser Tytler,"<sup>1</sup> had imprudently espoused the cause of the Douglasses and had left the kingdom with Angus and his brother, in consequence of which, sentence of forfeiture had been passed upon him. His widow and heirs were thus disinherited, his lands and castle of Easter Weems being bestowed by the Crown upon the Leslies. The severity of this sentence induced Cardinal Beton to restore their hereditary estate to the family of Colvil, which act of justice and generosity, by inflaming the passions of Norman Lesley against the Cardinal, became one of the causes which led to the assassination of that ambitious prelate."

"Norman," says Leslie,<sup>2</sup> "was the most guilty, in that, besides being Beton's near kinsman, he had been in more familiar and happy intercourse with the Cardinal, who, in order to disarm his anger, excelled towards him in all services of kindness, both public and private."<sup>3</sup>

"In the meanwhile," writes Herries—another contemporary—"those of the reformed religion consulted which way to cut away the Cardinal, *that by his death the Reformation may have more freedom.*"<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Craig.*

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of Scotland Book, IX p. 290, 291.*

<sup>3</sup> Leslie adds that Norman knew no rest after the murder, but spent his life trying to atone for the deed.

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs.*



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Calderwood and Fox affirm—and this is characteristic of the mentality of the Reformers—that “certain men of courage were stirred up by the Lord” to murder Beton, and Knox remarks: “These are the works of our God,” thereby, says Buckle, “making the Deity an assassin.”<sup>1</sup> Knox, in his *Historie* alludes to the murder as “a godly fact.”<sup>2</sup>

On Friday, the 28th of May, under cover of night, Norman Leslie slipped into the town of St. Andrews.<sup>3</sup> Kirkcaldy of Grange was already there, and a little later they were joined by John Leslie. Early next morning the conspirators gathered in knots around the Castle, until the porter, having lowered the drawbridge to let in some workmen who were employed on the building, Norman and three of his friends passed in unnoticed. In order to give the others an opportunity of doing the same, Norman proceeded to engage the porter in conversation, asking him if the Cardinal had yet risen, but on catching sight of John Leslie, the avowed enemy of his master, the man suspected treason, and springing to the drawbridge, attempted to pull it

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Civilisation.*

<sup>2</sup> The first edition. The passage has been suppressed in later ones.

<sup>3</sup> Leslie (*Hist. of Scotland Book IX*) asserts that the murderers of Beton were “counselled and persuaded thereto by divers great men of the realm who had quarrel and action of deadly feud against him.”

up. He was too late. The conspirators stabbed him, threw his dead body into the moat, took possession of the keys, and leading the workmen to the gate, summarily dismissed them. Kirkcaldy, who knew the Castle, stationed himself at a private postern, through which alone any attempt at escape could be made, while the others, going to the apartments of the different members of the Cardinal's household, awoke them, and, threatening them with instant death if they made the slightest sound, led them to the wicket and put them out. The Cardinal, hearing a noise, came out of his room, but on being told that Norman Leslie had taken the Castle, hastened to the private postern. Finding it guarded, he returned to his apartment, and, with the assistance of his page, fastened the door on the inside. The conspirators clamoured for admittance, and, being refused, threatened to burn down the door.<sup>1</sup> "Upon their promise to use no violence," says Spottiswood, Beton opened it, "whereon they, rushing in with their swords drawn, did most inhumanly kill him, he not making any resistance."<sup>2</sup>

The assassins seem to have stabbed the Cardinal furiously and repeatedly, until Melville, a man—according to Knox— "most gentle and godly"

<sup>1</sup> Fraser Tytler. *Hist. of Scotland*. III. Lyon. *Hist. of St. Andrews*. Herkless. *Cardinal Beaton*. Keith. *Church and State in Scotland*.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Lib.* II p. 83.

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put them aside, declaring that the "judgement of God ought to be executed with gravity, although in secret." Pointing his sword at the breast of the wounded man, he exhorted him to "repent of his wicked courses, and in particular of the death of Wishart, to avenge whose innocent blood they had been sent by God." He then passed his sword several times through the body of his unresisting victim.<sup>1</sup>

The curious who may wish to find examples of savage treatment of the dead," says Professor Herkless,<sup>2</sup> "will learn in Lindsay of Pitscottie the indignity said to have been done to the body of the man, who, according to Knox, was killed with the gravity due to a work and judgment of God."

There seems to be no doubt of the treachery of the murderers. "Norman, who was the Cardinal's very near kinsman," says Herries,<sup>3</sup> gave promise of safety, but nevertheless of this oath, they murdered him instantly."

In the meantime the alarm had been given in the town, and the citizens, the Provost at their head, ran to the side of the moat, clamouring for admittance, calling for scaling ladders, and crying out that they must see and speak at once with the Cardinal. The murderers, from the battlements

<sup>1</sup> Knox. *Historie of the Reformation*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cardinal Beaton*.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs*.

ordered them brutally to disperse, since "he whom they called for could not come to them, neither would he trouble the world any longer." This made them still more desperate, till, the leamour increasing, Norman Leslie and the others hung the bleeding body in a sheet over the wall, "by the tane arm and the tane fute"<sup>1</sup> crying to them savagely : "see there your god."

So died Scotland's Cardinal. "It is not often given," says Professor Herkless, "to a priest to be numbered among the saviours of civil liberty and political independence; yet plain historic truth must give Beton a place among Scotland's greatest statesmen and among her patriots."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter of James Lyndsay to Lord Wharton with intelligence of the murder. "This, John Douglas of Edinburgh, Hew Douglas of Ayr, shewed me, and Master John Douglas, whilk was in St. Andrews and saw the same with their een."

<sup>2</sup> *Cardinal Beaton.*



## CHAPTER III

### MARY OF GUISE

“A woman crafty, dissimulate and false.”—*Knox*.

“A lady of honourable conditions, of singular judgement, full of humanity, a great lover of justice, helpful to the poor.”—*Spottiswood*.

The events which immediately followed the assassination of Cardinal Beton proved beyond question that it had been carried out at the instigation of the English king. Letters were despatched to Lord Wharton, Warden of the Borders, describing the consternation caused in Edinburgh by the Cardinal's death, and representing the need of instant action on the part of England if the expected advantages were to be reaped. The murderers, who had possessed themselves of the whole property of their victim and entrenched themselves in his castle of St. Andrews, were promptly joined by about a hundred and fifty adherents of the new religion, “determined to venture their lives in that quarrel.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Keith *Hist. of Church and State in Scotland. Book I. 40.*

According to Canon Law, Mass could not be celebrated within the kingdom until the sacrilege of the murder had been atoned for, and the clergy taxed themselves for four months, at the rate of £3,000 a month, to supply funds for the regaining of the castle.<sup>1</sup> By the assassination of the Chancellor of the realm, moreover, the conspirators had incurred the penalties due to high treason, and, on the 10th of June, their lands and possessions having been declared forfeit, they were summoned to appear before Parliament. Their only reply was to send two of their number to England for assistance, in response to which appeal Henry VIII despatched six English ships of war, for the defence of "*certain his friends and servants in Scotland*" against the malice of the adverse party." The adverse party was presumably the established Government. The murderers were granted handsome annuities,<sup>2</sup> payment was ordered for the maintenance of eighty foot-men and forty horse-soldiers within the castle, and stores sent to the value of £1279<sup>3</sup>. The rebels, thus reinforced, set the law at defiance and abandoned themselves to riotous living.<sup>4</sup> At

<sup>1</sup> *Act. Parl. Scot. II, 172.*

<sup>2</sup> *Privy Council Book. Addit. M. S. 14,024 Fol. 5.*

<sup>3</sup> *Privy Council Book. Addit. M. S. Fol. 29.*

<sup>4</sup> All history declares that they disgraced the sacred cause of which they professed to be champions, by brutal immorality. Cunningham. *Church Hist. of Scotland. I. 220.*

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Easter they were joined by Knox, who received from them that "call," by which, says his contemporary Herries, "he practised the function of ministrie all his life-time afterward, wherein he is very famous."<sup>1</sup> "Notwithstanding our admiration of Knox," says Cunningham, "we think it impossible to read his indecent jests at the Cardinal's death without extreme pain and disgust; and it is too evident from the whole narrative, that he approved of, and applauded the murder."<sup>2</sup>

The traitors of Scotland, leagued with the power of England, were too strong for the Government. The death of Beton had left the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, practically at the head of affairs, and during the next few years her counsels were to inspire the weak and vacillating Arran.

Daughter of Claude of Lorraine, first Duke of Guise, and his wife Antoinette de Bourbon, the young Duchess de Longueville<sup>3</sup> played an important part in the political world of her time. Her hand, although already promised to James V, had been demanded by Henry VIII, whose third wife, Jane Seymour, had lately had the good fortune to die a natural death before giving

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of the reign of Mary*.—Lord Herries.

<sup>2</sup> *Church Hist. of Scotland*. I, 194.

<sup>3</sup> Mary of Guise was a widow at the time of her marriage to James; her husband, the young Duke de Longueville, had died a year before.

her royal husband time to tire of her. To the reply of the French ambassador that the young Duchess de Longueville was already betrothed to James of Scotland, Henry had urged the—to him—unanswerable argument that “he was ready to do twice as much for the French King as his Majesty of Scotland, if he would undertake to press his suit.<sup>1</sup> Mary of Guise, however, although Henry, in default of the aid of Francis, condescended to address her in person, had the bad taste to prefer the less illustrious, though younger and more attractive suitor. Henry’s anger and disgust at this apparent slight, accounts, in all probability, for much of the ill-will shown later to James and his unfortunate country.

Both Mary and James had already had some experience of wedded life, for Mary’s first husband, the Duke de Longueville, had died within a few weeks of James’s first bride, the princess Magdalene of France. There were elements of nobility in James’s nature, although Margaret Tudor, (whose character, in its selfishness and sensuality, had strong points of resemblance with that of her brother Henry VIII,) had done her best to ruin him by withdrawing him, at the age of thirteen, from the wise tutorship of Gavin Dunbar<sup>2</sup> and David Lindsay and surrounding him with a bodyguard of licentious young nobles. His early life was such as might

<sup>1</sup> MSS Despatches of M. de Chatillon Bibl. du Roi, Paris.

<sup>2</sup> Prior of Whithorn, and later Archbishop of Glasgow.



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have been expected from such influences, but from the day of his marriage to Mary of Guise he seems to have been a true and devoted husband. Contemporary writers agree that Mary was not only beautiful and engaging in manner, but that she set herself, from the first day of her entry into the kingdom, to make her husband happy and to see the best side of everything in a country and a court, which certainly compared unfavourably in refinement and splendour with that of France. When Sir Ralph Sadler visited Holyrood in 1541, he had instructions from the English king, not over pleased at the current reports of the happy wedded life of his rival, to congratulate Mary on "the good, virtuous and honourable life that was between her and her husband." The tragic death, within a few days of each other, of the two little sons that Mary bore to James, an event which was to prove such a calamity for Scotland, seems only to have united the young married pair more closely. Even Margaret Tudor, more given to fault-finding than to eulogy, had nothing but praise for her daughter-in-law, whose gentle influence had induced her to return to the practice of her religion and lead a respectable life. "Since her coming in this realm," wrote the Queen Dowager soon after the marriage, to her brother, Henry VIII, "I have been much in her company, and she bears herself very favourably to me, with as good treatment as may be, and hearty."

Left a widow for the second time at the age

of twenty seven, Mary of Guise's one aim was to protect the interests of her little daughter, that "maiden babe" who had been born under such gloomy auspices, and who was to succeed to the throne as Mary Stuart. Surrounded by men, many of whom were well known to be traitors in the pay of England, it was not surprising that the young Queen Dowager should look to her adopted father, Francis I of France, and to the old traditional alliance with that country, for help and protection. The more patriotic among the nobles, Cardinal Beton at their head, who would have died rather than see their country lose the freedom so hardly won in the wars of Independence, were one with her in this. "He is a wise man, and can better understand the good of the realm than all the rest," she had said of him at one of her first interviews with Sadler. But the Cardinal was dead, and with the weak and irresolute Arran as Regent and the "English Lords" ready to break out into open rebellion at any moment, the future looked dark enough. For the moment Mary contented herself with supplying the motive power that was required to make Arran take any definite line of action, while sending to France for help against the rebels at St. Andrews, who had successfully defied all attempts on the Governor's part to dislodge them. A French fleet was sent over to the coast of Fife; Arran invested the town on the landward side, and, after a sharp struggle, the murderers and their party capitulated, sur-

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rendering the castle into the hands of Léon Strozzi, the French admiral. The conspirators were condemned to the galleys and taken to France, but at the intercession, it is said, of Mary of Guise, they were set at liberty eighteen months later. <sup>1</sup> Considering the fact that they had been guilty of treason, robbery and murder, it must be confessed that they were not hardly dealt with. <sup>2</sup>

"Could the Governor," says Fraser Tytler, "have succeeded in imparting to the body of the nobility a spirit of honour and unanimity, the English invasion threatened by Somerset <sup>3</sup> would have given no serious cause for alarm. But a revelation of further treachery was impending. In the room in the Castle of St. Andrews which had been occupied by Balnaves, who acted as agent for the conspirators, was found a register book containing the autograph subscriptions of two hundred Scottish noblemen and gentlemen,

<sup>1</sup> Keith. *Church and State in Scotland* I, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Knox asserts that the terms of the capitulation were violated, and that they were promised their freedom if they would embrace the conditions proposed to them by the king of France, but the terms, according to Leslie and Anderson, and partially corroborated by Buchanan, were that they were to be pardoned *their lives, if the king of France should think it good, else to stand to his pleasure.* Fraser Tytler. *Hist. of Scotland* III, 54.

<sup>3</sup> Henry VIII had died in the preceding January, and Somerset was governing England in the name of the young king, Edward VI.



who had secretly bound themselves to the service of England.<sup>1</sup> The Battle of Pinkie, of which the popular opinion is chronicled in the lines :

“ It was *your* gold and *our* traitors wanne  
The field of Pinkie and no English man.”

added yet another disaster to the records of Scotland.

Had Somerset been able to follow up his victory, the independence of the country would have been lost for ever. Happily for Scotland, the intrigues of his brother forced him to return to England. During the breathing space thus obtained, the Queen Dowager took counsel with the Governor as to the best course to pursue, in order to secure the person of the little Queen in case of another invasion. At a meeting of the Estates at Haddington it was decided that the child should leave the Priory of Inchmahome, where she had been removed for greater safety, and be conveyed to France. It required some little skirmishing on the part of Admiral Villégaignon to carry out this project, for everything that passed in Scotland was known a few hours later in England, and the English cruisers were on the alert. The undertaking, however, was safely accomplished, and on the 15th of August the little Mary Stuart landed with her attendants at Brest. It was an understood thing that when

<sup>1</sup> Fraser Tytler. *Hist of Scotland* III, 35.



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she was old enough, she was to marry the Dauphin.

The idea of the English match, when it was first proposed, had not been displeasing to Mary of Guise, and, had Henry gone about the matter in another spirit, the result might have been very different. His demand that the infant Queen should be given into his keeping had been the rock on which all the treaties had split. "The Scots will never suffer their little Queen to be taken to England," Mary told Sadler frankly at their first interview, "for, if once the child were in Henry's hands, he would be able to dispose of the inheritance of the realm at his pleasure."<sup>1</sup> Henry had shown plainly enough that subjection, and not alliance, was his aim. The Scots, as Sadler wrote in the February of 1544, "are strange people to meddle with" and do not respond to coercion. What had happened since had not tended to promote more cordial relations between the two countries.

In the September of 1550, when peace had been made with England, Mary of Guise went to France to visit her daughter and take steps to obtain the regency. Arran, whom the people blamed for the disaster of Pinkie, was unpopular as well as inefficient, "the wives were like to have stoned him to death."<sup>2</sup> He was induced to retire from the regency by the gift of the rich

<sup>1</sup> *Sadler's State Papers.* Vol. I, 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal.* I, 34.

Duchy of Chatelherault and a promise that no account would be required of his administration of the Crown revenues during his term of office,<sup>1</sup> and that, in the event of the young queen dying without heirs, he should succeed to the throne. At a parliament held in Edinburgh, in the April of 1554, he formally resigned the governorship into the hands of Mary, who, says Keith, "immediately applied herself towards rectifying the disorders of the State." Several good laws were passed, and justiciary courts were held in the south by the Regent herself, who later journeyed northwards to settle affairs in the Highlands. "She possessed," says Fraser Tytler, "a calm judgment, good though not brilliant natural parts, manners, which without losing their dignity, were feminine and engaging : and so intimate a knowledge of the character of the people over which she ruled, that, if left to herself, there was every prospect of her managing affairs with wisdom and success."<sup>2</sup> Guided in matters of law by the wise counsels of Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow, her exertions were for several years successfully devoted to the mainten-

<sup>1</sup>This must have been a relief to the Governor, who had spent the Crown revenues recklessly and not always for the country's good. "Her Grace was very happy to get anything back after the revenues and crown jewels had been for eleven years in his custody." Strickland. *Queens of Scotland*. II 177.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of Scotland*. III, 74.

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ance of peace and the true welfare of the kingdom.

In the spring of 1556, Knox, who, backed up by Lord James Stuart, (illegitimate son of James V and Prior of St. Andrews), Lord Erskine, Lord Lorn, and Erskine of Dun, had begun to preach openly in Edinburgh, was summoned to appear before the clergy in the Church of the Blackfriars. Glencairn and the Earl Marischal, "earnest professors of Christ Jesus," having urged him to make an appeal to the Regent, "something that might move her to hear the Word of God," he wrote her a letter in which, after referring to himself as "her humble subject, wrongfully reported as a heretic and seducer" he alluded to the Reforming party as "God's chosen children" declaring that their victory should be "not in resisting, but in suffering, in quietness, silence and hope!" But the Reformer did not content himself with such meek protestations as these. He alluded to the Regent herself in a biblical parallel with the Egyptian midwives, with Nebuchadnezzar and Rahab the harlot. "Her acquaintance with these amiable idolators," says Andrew Lang, "may have been slight, but the comparison was odious and far from tactful."<sup>1</sup> He reviled the Faith in which she had been brought up as a "poisoned cup," and threatened her, if she refused his counsels, with "torment and pain everlasting."

<sup>1</sup> *John Knox and the Reformation.* P. 70.



Mary read the letter, and handing it to James Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow and nephew of the murdered Cardinal, addressed him in words which Knox never forgot nor forgave "May it please you, my lord, to read a pasquil," she said, smiling. Knox retired to Geneva, but Mary had incurred the implacable enmity of a man who was probably the best hater of his time.

A year passed before Knox returned to Scotland. At Dieppe, where he stopped on his way home, the news reached him that the Reformers in Scotland were actually of the opinion that it might "be more secure to rest content with the worship of God after their own manner, in private assemblies, (which was now winked at), rather than to drive at greater enlargements and perhaps fail in the attempt."<sup>1</sup> This did not at all suit the plans of the man who was constantly asserting that liberty of conscience and liberty of worship were all that he desired. He was confounded, he wrote to the backsliding brethren, to find them "so unstable as to prefer their worldly rest to God's praise and glory." They ought to be ready to "hazard their lives, be it against kings or emperors, for the deliverance of the people from spiritual bondage." Stirred up by this vigorous admonition, Argyll, Glencairn, Morton, (son of Sir George Douglas) Lorn, the Lord James, and others of the "English Lords," signed a bond

<sup>1</sup> Keith. *Church and State in Scotland*. I, 65.



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known as the First Covenant, by which they bound themselves to "apply their whole power, substance and their very lives, to maintain, set forward and establish the most blessed Word of God and His Congregation, forsaking and renouncing the Congregation of Satan, with all superstitious abominations and idolatry thereof, and moreover to declare themselves manifestly enemies thereto."

"Such bonds of association," says Hume,<sup>1</sup> "are always the forerunners of rebellion, and this violent invasion of the established religion was the actual forerunner of it."

In February, 1557-8,<sup>2</sup> an embassy, consisting of the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Fleming, Lord Seton, Lord James Stuart, the Archbishop of Glasgow,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of England*, IV, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Up to the year 1559, the new year in Scotland began on March 25th, Feast of the Annunciation. Hence the difficulty of dating, according to modern reckoning, the period between Jan. 1st, and that day.

<sup>3</sup> James Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, remained, on Mary Stuart's return to Scotland, as her ambassador in France. Keith describes him as a man of much good sense and virtue. The Bishop of Orkney was Robert Reid, who died on the way home, leaving 8000 merks for the foundation of a college in Edinburgh. The money was applied, in 1581, to the purchase of a site on which were erected the university buildings. Bellesheim. *Hist. of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, II, 198. Thus the only post-Reformation university in Scotland owes the ground on which it stands to the gift of a pre-Reformation prelate.

The Bishop of Ross was David Panter, mentioned in Chapter I.

and the Bishops of Orkney and Ross, with others, set out for France to draw up the marriage contract of Mary Stuart with the Dauphin of France. The marriage was celebrated in the following April, in presence of the Royal Commissioners, who took an oath of allegiance to their young Queen in the name of the Estates of Scotland. "During his stay in France," says Keith, "Mary's half-brother, the Lord James, Prior of St. Andrews, being weary of an ecclesiastical life, made suit to the Queen to be created Earl of Moray. But the Queen, being advertised of this design by her mother, exhorted him to continue in the sacred function to which his father had destined him. Which refusal he took in such ill part that ever hereafter he set himself to oppose the Queen Mother."<sup>1</sup>

This enterprising young gentleman, according to James's pernicious habit of assigning Church benefices to his illegitimate sons, had been appointed Prior of St. Andrews at the age of seven. His "sacred function," he had steadily ignored in every respect save that of pocketing the revenues. His opposition to the Queen Regent was of older date than Keith asserts. Some nine years earlier, Holcroft, writing to Somerset, gave particulars of an insurrectionary movement in St. Andrews, stirred up by the Lord James against the French troops employed by the Queen Regent. He had early forsaken the religion in

<sup>1</sup> *Church and State in Scotland*, I, 75.

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which he had been bred in order to throw in his lot with the Reformers, and in January, 1549-50, entered into a contract of marriage with Christian, the wealthy heiress of the Earl of Buchan, whom he defrauded of her estates and deserted. The particulars of this dishonourable transaction are to be found in Chalmers' *Life of the Earl of Moray*, and the Privy-Seal registers.

Knox, in the meantime, having been condemned in his absence by the Scottish Council, proceeded to issue an appellation against their judgment, in which he propounded the theory that no idolater can be exempted from punishment by God's law. The inference was obvious. The Queen and the clergy were idolaters, and every true believer, according to this theory, had a right to punish them. "The punishment of such crimes as are idolatry, blasphemy<sup>1</sup> and others that touch the Majesty of God, doth not appertain to kings and chief rulers only, but also to the whole body of the people and to every member of the same."<sup>2</sup>

This was a direct incitement to rebellion and murder. "He has proclaimed," says Lang, "the right and duty of every Protestant assassin."<sup>3</sup>

The bond signed by the Congregation amounted

<sup>1</sup> The Mass, the central doctrine of the Catholic Church throughout the world, was stigmatised as blasphemy by the Reformers.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, *Historie*, IV, 501, 502.

<sup>3</sup> *John Knox and the Reformation*, p. 84.



practically to an open declaration of war against the established religion. The Reformers now proceeded to pass their own resolutions and to carry them out in all places where they were in power.<sup>1</sup> The clergy represented, not unreasonably, says Fraser Tytler, the declarations of the Congregation and their subsequent conduct, as acts of treason.<sup>2</sup> Walter Miln, an apostate priest, who had been imprisoned for heresy in the time of Beton, but had escaped, was tried and executed, whereupon the Reformers sent out emissaries to denounce throughout the country the wickedness and injustice of the clergy.<sup>3</sup> A protestation, in which the Congregation alluded to themselves as "part of that power which God has established in this realm, whose bounden duty it is to defend their brethren from these cruel murderers" was sent to Mary of Guise. It declared that Reformation was necessary "as well in religion as in the temporal government of the State." "Might not the Queen and Council," says Keith,<sup>4</sup> "be a little startled at the subtlety of the doctrines of

<sup>1</sup> Fraser Tytler. *History of Scotland*, III, 86.

<sup>2</sup> Fraser Tytler. *History of Scotland*, III, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Their point of view, in the circumstances, was peculiar. Calvin, whose tenets they professed to follow, burnt Servetus alive, beheaded Gruet, and established an inquisition at Geneva to seek out all persons who disagreed with his religious views. The clergy were acting on the same lines, only *in defence of the religion by law established*.

<sup>4</sup> *Church and State in Scotland*, I, 79.



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these suppliants, and easily prognosticate what would follow as their power and force increased?"

In January 1558-9, a manifesto known as "the Beggars' Summons," was found placarded upon the gates of every religious house in Scotland. It purported to be a warning from the poor that before Whit Sunday, "we, the lawful proprietors, will eject the Friars and residents on the property, our patrimony, unlawfully held by them." This ejection was to be performed with the "help of God and of His saints on earth." There can be no doubt that it was the saints themselves who affixed the notices. "They knew what they were talking about," says Andrew Lang, "and so could prophesy safely." To make so many copies of the document and fix them on "all the Friars' places, meant organisation and a deliberate plan—riots and revolution before Whit Sunday."<sup>1</sup> The appeal to the cupidity of the people was of course successful, but the prizes were not for the poor.<sup>2</sup>

"It was then," says Knox, "that the Regent began to spew forth the latent venom of her heart. She looked frowardly at Protestants, and commanded her household to use all abominations at Easter." In other words she received, with all her household, the Sacraments of the Church, as

<sup>1</sup> *John Knox and the Reformation*, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Historians who assert that many of the Scottish barons could not sign their own names, so great was the prevailing ignorance, seem to see no discrepancy in attributing this document to the beggars.

is customary among Catholics. "It is supposed that after that day the devil took more violent and strong possession in her, than he had before, for incontinently she caused our preachers to be summoned."<sup>1</sup>

As to the summoning of the preachers, "how could any Governor of Scotland refrain from summoning them?" asks Lang. "The Regent was in a situation whence there was no outgait; she must submit to the seditions and tumults threatened in the Protestation of the Brethren, the disturbance of services and the probable wrecking of churches, or she must use the powers legally entrusted to her."<sup>2</sup>

If it were to come to open war, the future looked black indeed for Mary of Guise. The small French garrison, numbering from 1500 to 2000 men, formed the only defence on which she could really count. The feudal levies could not be depended on, since the greater number of the nobles, in league with the Congregation, were looking forward to securing the wealth of the Church. The Beggars' summons had done its work,<sup>3</sup> and the mob was eager for plunder. The Reformers, who were in force at Perth, or St. John's Town, as it was then called, having been joined by Knox with a contingent from Dundee,

<sup>1</sup> Knox, *Historie*.

<sup>2</sup> *John Knox and the Reformation*.

<sup>3</sup> "A terrible manifesto, breathing the very spirit of rebellion." Hume Brown. *Hist. of Scotland* II, 52.

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Erskine of Dun was sent to the Regent to beg her not to impose a penalty upon the summoned preachers during their absence.

Knox declares that, in order to gain time *and prevent the preachers from answering the summons*, the Regent “crafted with them” by vague promises until May 10th, when she summarily outlawed them.<sup>1</sup> Knox is the only authority for this statement.<sup>2</sup> The contemporary *Historie of the Estate of Scotland*, by an anonymous author wholly in sympathy with the Reformers, and whose main facts are corroborated by the despatches of d'Oysel and others,<sup>3</sup> as well as by Leslie, says that the Congregation intended to march to Stirling with the preachers, “there to consult what was to be done, and, although the queen was most earnestly requested and persuaded to continue, (defer the summons), nevertheless she remained wilful and obstinate. Shortly, the day being come, because they appeared not, their sureties were outlawed, and the preachers ordered to be put to the horn.”<sup>4</sup> The same authority tells us that Erskine of Dun, “perceiving the obstinacy of the Regent,” came to Perth and declared the same to the brethren. Leslie puts the case more plainly still. Erskine of Dun, he says, having been sent to beg the

<sup>1</sup> *John Knox and the Reformation*. Andrew Lang. 110.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Teulet. *Pièces et Documents inédits, relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse*.

<sup>4</sup> *Wodrow Miscellany*, Vol. I, 57.



Regent not to impose a penalty upon the preachers during their absence, returned with the news that she refused to grant their request. Whereupon Knox preached the sermon that provoked the destruction of the monasteries.<sup>1</sup>

“Now arises tumult upon tumult,” wrote Herries,<sup>2</sup> “killing of priests, sacking and pulling down of churches, ruining of stately buildings, and brave fabrics; monuments of Antiquity and marks of piety, which for many hundred year have been a-building, shall in a few months, be destroyed and rased to the ground. The ornaments and riches of the Church fell to the share of the common rabble; the estates and lands were divided among the great men, by themselves, without right and law, which they resolve to maintain by the sword! The first storm fell upon St. Johnstone; John Knox, who had been minister to these rebels in the Castle of St. Andrews, was the occasion, who, by a seditious sermon, stirred up the people to fury and madness; who encouraged them to pull down the Churches; for in his sermon he bid them pull down the nests that the crows might not build again. Whereupon they run out in confusion, killed the priests and broke down altars, and destroyed all the images and monuments.”

This is interesting, as the description of a contemporary, no friend to Knox's methods of

<sup>1</sup> *History*. Scottish Text Society. Vol. II, 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of the Reign of Mary*.



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Reformation<sup>1</sup>, of the events that now took place within the country. But we have the testimony of another contemporary writer, who *was* a friend of Knox and his methods, and whose triumphant chronicle of the achievements of the Congregation at St. Andrews, four months later, effectually disposes of the argument that it was the mob which destroyed the monasteries, in spite of Knox's efforts to prevent them. "On the morrow, 15th August, 1559, John Knox, passing to the parish Kirk, made a sermon. His text was of the first<sup>2</sup> of St. John's Evangell, where it is mentioned that our Saviour Christ drove forth the buyers and sellers out of the temple, which he applied that likewise the Papists and idolaters should be whipt and driven forth of the Kirk of God. The sermon was scarcely done, when they fell to work to purge the kirk and break down all the altars and images and all that kynd of idolatrie. . . passed to the Friars Black and Grey, and before the sun was down, there was never inch standing but bare walls."

The burning and sacking of the monasteries, together with the decree of death to the priests—

<sup>1</sup> The Catholics of the time graphically described the movement as the "Deformation of religion," and the Congregation as the "Deformers." "In the said year (1559)" writes Marjoreybanks in his *Annals of Scotland, 1514-1591* (Dalyell's *Fragments of Scottish History*) "all the kirks in Edinburgh and fryaries, and other religious houses, were deformitt."

<sup>2</sup> *Historie of the Estate of Scotland. Wodrow Miscellany* I, 60. The author is mistaken. The text is in the 2nd chapter.

who had been commanded "to cease from their blasphemous Mass under pain of death"<sup>1</sup>—naturally incensed the Regent. "Which thing," wrote Knox to Mrs. Locke, "did so enrage the venom of the serpent's seed that she decreed death to man, woman and child in Perth." This, which he describes as "beastlie crueltie," is as true as many of Knox's other statements regarding Mary of Guise. "In her court she kept a wonderful gravity, tolerating no licentiousness," says Spottiswood, "her maids were always busied in some virtuous exercise, and to them she was an ensample every way of modesty, chastity and the best virtues," "The author of the History ascribed to John Knox," he continues, "showeth a bitter and hateful spite against the Regent, forging dishonest things which were never as much as suspected by any, setting down his own conjectures as certain truths, yea, the least syllable that did escape her in passion, he maketh it an argument of her cruel and inhuman disposition."<sup>2</sup>

The brethren were now flocking into Perth, which they proceeded to fortify, loudly proclaiming the while that they were neither seditious nor rebellious.<sup>3</sup> "Of these operations,"

<sup>1</sup> Knox to Mrs. Locke.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Church of Scotland. Lib. III, 146.*

<sup>3</sup> If the menace against the priests, and the ruin of the monasteries were not seditious, what is sedition? Lang. *John Knox and the Reformation.*

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says Lang, "Knox was the life and soul. There is no mistaking his hand in the letter to Mary of Guise, or in the Epistle to the Catholic Clergy, courteously inscribed to "the generation of Anti-Christ, the pestilent Prelates and their shavelings within Scotland."<sup>1</sup>

"The Queen Regent sees now all things past remedy by fair means," says Herries, "and she resolves to go to the fields."<sup>2</sup> Lord James Stuart, the prior of St. Andrews, the Queen's base brother, and the Earl of Argyll, who were known to be special fomenters of all these innovations, kept still with the Queen in show, and stayed still in the army, on purpose to act better for the advantage of the Congregation, with resolution to take part publicly when they found the time seasonable."<sup>3</sup>

The Regent who had concentrated her French forces and summoned the levies of Clydesdale and Stirlingshire, was now at Auchterarder, about fourteen miles from Perth. The message delivered by the Congregation to her treacherous envoys, Argyll and the Lord James, ran thus :

"They whom Her Majesty, in her blind rage, is persecuting, are God's servants and obedient subjects to the civil authority."<sup>4</sup> Her religion

<sup>1</sup> *John Knox and the Reformation.*

<sup>2</sup> Take the field ; i.e. go to war.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs.*

<sup>4</sup> The civil authority was the Queen Regent !

was declared to be "expressly contrary to that of Jesus Christ," and she was "fighting not against man but against God." They protested once more that they meant no rebellion, but only desired security for their religion. They agreed to leave Perth on the following conditions :

1 Both armies to be disbanded.

2 The town of Perth to receive the Queen Regent to reside at her pleasure.

3 No townsman to be troubled in body or in goods.

4 No Frenchman to approach the town by three miles.

5 All other matters to be settled at the next Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

Herries's account of the treaty is confirmed by Spottiswood and Keith, though Spottiswood includes in the third condition that no *French* garrison was to be left in Perth.<sup>2</sup> Before leaving the city the reformers signed a second bond or Covenant, in which they bound themselves "at their whole power, to destroy and put away all things that do dishonour to God's name," and, in case "any trouble should be intended against any member or part of the Congregation, the whole body should concur, assist and convene together to the defence of the same."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herries, *Memoirs*.

<sup>2</sup> The author of the *Historie of the Estate of Scotland* gives practically the same terms.

<sup>3</sup> Keith, *Book I*, 89.



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“And so,” writes the author of the *Historie of the Estate of Scotland* “she came forward to St. Johnstone, the Congregation, departing everie man to his own house ; and, as they past, where they found in their way any kirks or chappells, incontinent they purged them, breaking down the altars and idolls in all places where they come. And so praising God continually, in singing of psalms and spiritual songs, they rejoyced that the Lord wrought thus happily with them.”<sup>1</sup> Argyll and the Lord James, the Regent’s envoys, had actually signed the bond that pledged the godly to commit these outrages.

The Regent left a *Scottish* garrison in Perth, whereupon Argyll and the Lord James, declaring that the Scottish troops were paid with French money,<sup>2</sup> accused her of a breach of the treaty and openly joined the insurgents. On the command of the Queen to return to their allegiance they “called a rising of their friends,” hoping thus to get a start of the Regent, who, according to the agreement, had disbanded her army. They justified this proceeding by proclaiming that she was at Falkland on her way to surprise Coupar and St. Andrews.<sup>3</sup>

Knox, in the meantime, preached at Crail, Anstruther and St. Andrews ; devastations following

<sup>1</sup> *Wodrow Miscellany* I, 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Keith* I, 90.

<sup>3</sup> *Herries, Memoirs*

on his sermons. Mary of Guise now resolved to attack the rebels, but her army being intercepted by a large force of the Reformers, an envoy was sent to parley with them. Remission was offered for all past offences, on condition that they agreed to let the monasteries and their inmates alone, and to cease preaching in public, since their sermons were always followed by the destruction of religious houses and monuments. These terms they refused; "they would not suffer idolatrie to be maintained."<sup>1</sup>

A truce was however agreed to, the agreement being that "the Congregation should enterprise nothing nor make no invasion for the space of six days following."<sup>2</sup> The brethren broke it by attacking the monastery of Lindores,<sup>3</sup> while Argyll and the Lord James again accused the Queen of having broken the treaty by leaving a garrison in Perth. Receiving no reply, the Congregation marched to the city and ordered the magistrates and the Regent's garrison to open the gates, which they refused to do, declaring that they held the city in the Queen's name. The rebels then attacked and took possession, demolishing the beautiful old Abbey of Scone. They were still asserting that they meant no sedition and contemplated no alteration of

<sup>1</sup> Knox to Mrs. Locke.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Estate of Scotland. Wodrow Miscellany* 1.

<sup>3</sup> Knox to Mrs. Locke—He does not mention this in his *Historie*.

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authority, although deep in intrigues with England to depose the Regent and set Hamilton on the throne.<sup>1</sup>

The attack on Perth took place in the end of July, 1559. In the August of the same year Knox wrote to Cecil: "In the bowels of Christ Jesus, I require you, sir, to make plain answer what they (the Congregation) may lippen (trust) to, and at what time their support shall be in readiness" (to depose the Regent and overthrow the Government). He reminds Elizabeth that her "good father, the most noble and redoubted of his time, disdained not lovingly to write to men fewer in number and far inferior in authority and power."<sup>2</sup> This is evidently an allusion to the correspondence about the murder of Beton.

On the night of the destruction of Scone, Argyll and the Lord James, having heard that the Regent was about to send some French troops to protect Stirling from the reforming zeal of the Congregation, departing secretly from Perth, entered that city and early next morning stirred up their friends to attack the churches and monasteries. When they had made havoc of everything within their reach, including the famous Abbey of Cambuskenneth, they set out for Edinburgh, "for Reformation to be made

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Lang. *John Knox and the Reformation*. Fraser Tytler. *Hist of Scotland III*, 107.

<sup>2</sup> Fraser Tytler III, 109.

there likewise,"<sup>1</sup> doing some "purging" at Linlithgow by the way.

The Queen having departed to Dunbar, says Keith, "the Congregation resolved to stay some time in Edinburgh, for putting their affairs in order and suppressing all monuments of idolatry in the city and adjacent places." The putting of their affairs in order included the sacking of Holyrood and the seizure of the coining irons in the Mint. "On the 1st of July, 1559," writes the unknown author of the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, "James, Commendator of St Andrews and Alexander, Lord Glencairn, with their assisters, called the Congregation, past from Edinburgh to Holyroodhouse, and there, taking the irons of the coining house, brought the same to Edinburgh, the said prior of St. Andrews' lodging being therein. The Queen Regent and her party, hearing of the said proceedings, were greatly annoyed thereat."<sup>2</sup>

Knox declares that the coining irons were seized to prevent the stamping of base coin; Leslie, his contemporary, that the rebels intended to coin the stolen plate of the churches and monasteries for their own use.<sup>3</sup>

The Queen Regent, dreading, says Keith, a total overthrow of the Royal authority, and

<sup>1</sup> Knox *Historie*.

<sup>2</sup> The spelling is modernised.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. of Scotland*, Book. X.



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knowing herself to be in no condition to repel force by force, issued the following proclamation :

Considering the seditious tumult raised by one part of her lieges naming themselves the Congregation, who under pretence of religion had put themselves in arms, she had offered to them to hold a Parliament in January next to settle religious affairs, and to guarantee that, until then, every man should live in liberty of conscience. But, it being obvious that the Congregation was aiming at the subversion of the established authority and the usurpation of the crown, (proved by the fact that they were in constant communication with England<sup>1</sup>), and by the stealing of the stamping irons from the Mint, all and sundry persons were commanded to leave their company and to submit to the lawful authority, under pain of treason.<sup>2</sup>

The proclamation was not without effect. Some of the more scrupulous members of the Congregation, not quite prepared to be punished as traitors, began to waver, and, seeing this, the Queen's advisers urged her to proceed to Edinburgh. On Monday, July 24th, the town surrendered to her army and the Lords of the Congregation decided to accept the terms of

<sup>1</sup> The Regent had heard of the plot to marry Elizabeth to Arran and "deny entrance and title" to Mary Stuart, the rightful Queen.

<sup>2</sup> *Church and State in Scotland.* Keith.

accommodation. These terms, according to Teulet, were as follows :<sup>1</sup>

All Protestants not inhabitants of Edinburgh to depart next day.

The stamps for coining to be delivered, and Holyrood handed over to the Regent.

The Congregation to be dutiful subjects, except in matters of religion.

The clergy not to be disturbed before January, 10th, 1560.

No monasteries to be attacked before that date.

The town of Edinburgh to enjoy liberty of conscience and to choose the form of religion that it pleased until that date.

The Regent not to molest the preachers, nor suffer the clergy to molest them until that date.

No garrison, French or Scots, to occupy Edinburgh, but soldiers might repair thither from their garrisons for lawful business. (This latter condition is given by Keith, Knox, and Spottiswood only).

The Congregation, having proclaimed a different set of terms from those really settled,<sup>2</sup> retired to Stirling, where they signed a third

<sup>1</sup> All historians excepting Knox give the same terms. For the "singular statements of Knox" on this matter see *History of Scotland*. Andrew Lang. Vol. II pp. 58, 59, 60.

<sup>2</sup> Of the terms really settled, except as regards the immunity of their own party, the Lords told the public not one word. "They suppressed what was true, and added what was false." *John Knox and the Reformation*. Lang. 144.

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bond of mutual defence and passed a resolution to "seek the aid and support of all Christian princes" against the tyranny of the Queen, and more especially the help of England, "being of the same religion with themselves."<sup>1</sup>

On July 30th, Knox, having received his instructions from the Congregation, set off to Berwick to see Croft and negotiate with England. The conference over, Croft reported to the English Government that, on the question of the change of authority, the brethren would be "subject to Elizabeth's wishes."<sup>2</sup> Arran, son of the Duke of Chatelherault, was to be kept secretly in England, "until wise men considered what was in him." If he were disliked as ruler of Scotland, the Lord James was to have the second place. Owing to Knox's lack of caution this expedition became an open secret, and on the return to Stirling of Whitelaw, another envoy, who was to have travelled with Knox, Lord Seton, mistaking him for the Reformer, broke a chair on him. This was instantly construed into a breach of the Regent's treaty—she had "molested the preachers!" Our old friend, Sir Ralph Sadler, now appears on the scene. He had been sent to Berwick with £3000 in gold for the brethren, "to be given very secretly, lest it should be discovered that he was infringing

<sup>1</sup> Keith, Book I, 101.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers*, Scotland. Elizabeth, M. S. Vol. I.



the treaty of peace.”<sup>1</sup> “Whatever pretence they make,” said this too candid diplomatist, “the principal mark they shoot at is to make an alteration of the state and authority.”

An interesting statement by the author of the *Historie of the Estate of Scotland* shows us that Edinburgh was still Catholic in spirit.

In the July of that same year, he tells us, the Queen sent a message to the Lords, reminding them that the inhabitants of Edinburgh were, according to the treaty, to choose what religion they pleased. The Reformers answered that the religion *they* professed was according to God’s word, and they had chosen it already, therefore it was not necessary to choose again. The Earl of Huntly, Mary’s envoy, answered that they were but a small number in comparison to the whole town, and it was one of the special articles of the late appointment. To which they answered as before “Fearing greatly that the matter should not have taken so good success, they utterly refused to choose again, alleging that they had chosen already.” “As the brethren,” says Andrew Lang<sup>2</sup>, “held St. Giles’ Church before the treaty, under Article 7 they could not be dispossessed. Had Edinburgh been polled, the brethren knew that they would have been outvoted.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The treaty of Cateau Cambrésis.

<sup>2</sup> *John Knox and the Reformation* 142.

<sup>3</sup> Knox. *Historie. Book II.*



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In September, after an interview with Elizabeth, Arran was smuggled across the Border. Knox and Willock were preaching throughout the country, and the Regent protested against their abusive language. "They merely proclaim and cry," replied Knox, "that the same God who plagued Pharaoh, repulsed Sennacherib, struck Herod with worms, and made the bellies of dogs the grave and sepulchre of the spiteful Jezebel, will not spare misled princes, who authorise the murderers of Christ's members in this our time." "On this manner," said he, "they speak of princes in general and of your Majesty in particular."<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime Lethington, Secretary to the Queen Mother, had informed Sadler that he "attended upon the Regent no longer than he might have a good occasion to revolt unto the Protestants."

The Queen had fortified Leith, against which the Congregation protested as another breach of the treaty. Her answer was not wanting in dignity and pathos. "And like as a small bird, being pursued, will provide itself some nest, so her Grace could do no less in case of pursuit, but provide some sure retreat for herself and her company."<sup>2</sup>

"The ingenious brethren," says Lang,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Knox. *Historie*. Book II

<sup>2</sup> Skelton. *Maitland of Lethington* I. 239

<sup>3</sup> *John Knox and the Reformation*. 155 (note)

“argued that to fortify Leith entailed oppression of our poor brethren, indwellers in the same.” “The papers of Sadler,” says the same writer, “show the godly pursuing their old plan of campaign. To make treaty with the Regent ; to predict from the pulpit that she would break it ; to make false statements about the terms of the treaty ; to accuse her of their infringement ; to profess loyalty ; to aim at setting up a new sovereign power ; to tell the populace that Mary of Guise’s scanty French reinforcements—some 1500 men—came in virtue of a broken treaty ; to tell Sadler that they were glad the French *had* come, as they would excite popular hatred ; to make out that the fortification of Leith was breach of treaty ; such, in brief, were the methods of the Reformers.”

In the middle of October, the Congregation, arriving in force in Edinburgh, ordered the Regent to dismiss her French guard and depart from Leith. In reply to this summons, Robert Forman, Lion King at Arms, was sent to make answer to the Lords that such words seemed rather to come from a prince to his subjects than from subjects to one in authority.<sup>1</sup> The Queen had not fortified Leith until the Congregation had seized and fortified Broughty Castle, and had not brought in French troops until they had appealed for help to England. How was it lawful for them to keep up an army in

<sup>1</sup> Spottiswood, Lib. III, 135

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Edinburgh, and not for her to do the like in Leith? If they would show her a probable way for the peace of the country, she was ready to dismiss the French.<sup>1</sup>

The Lords now convened in Council and discussed the possibility of deposing the Regent. "The motion," says Spottiswood, "seemed dangerous to some, as wanting example. If it had been done before, it had always been under authority." Opinions being thus divided, it was thought advisable to take counsel of the preachers, whereupon Mr. John Willock and Mr. John Knox averred that, "since by Jehu God had destroyed Joram and the whole posterity of Achab, and had deposed divers others from government, and that the Regent was an open idolatress and maintainer of superstition, and despised the counsel of the nobility, they did think they might justly deprive her from all regiment and authority over them."<sup>2</sup>

An Act was accordingly drawn up and proclaimed by sound of trumpet at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. It declared that "in their Sovereign Lord and Ladie's name! (the Sovereign Ladie was Mary of Guise's own daughter) the Congregation had "suspended the Regent's commission" and all administration of her policy, being most assuredly persuaded that her

<sup>1</sup> Lord Herries. *Memoirs*.

<sup>2</sup> Spottiswood, Lib. III, 136, 137. Keith Book I, 104.



proceedings were "directly contrary to our Sovereign Lord and Ladie's will"<sup>1</sup> She was to quit Leith in twenty-four hours with all Frenchmen and soldiers.

The rebels now constituted themselves into a privy Council. They caused a copy of the great seal of Francis and Mary to be forged, and proceeded to send out proclamations and to pass laws in their name. "The Queen Regent," writes Knox to Mr. Railton, on October 23rd. 1559, "with public consent of the Lords and Barons assembled, is deprived of all authority and regiment amongst us. She, her Frenchmen and assistants, are by open proclamation declared and denounced enemies and traitors to this Commonwealth, for that, being thrice required and charged to desist from fortifying Leith, she and they do obstinately proceed in this wicked enterprise. There shall be appointed to occupy the Authority a great Counsell, the President and chief Head whereof shall be my Lord Duke. The authority of the French King and Queen (Mary Stuart and her husband) is not yet received and will be *in word*, till they deny our most just requests, which you shall, God willing, shortly hereafter understand, together with our whole proceeding from the beginning of this matter, which we are to set forth in manner of history."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Spottiswood, Lib. III, 136, 137. Keith Book I, 104.

<sup>2</sup> He is alluding probably to his history of the Reformation, written shortly afterwards.



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He asks for men and money, "for if we assault and be repulsed, then shall our enterprise be in great hazard. If your eyes be single, you may not let to succour our present necessities, whatsoever danger appear thereof to ensue.<sup>1</sup>"

Two days later he writes more urgently still, with a proposal that seems to have scandalised even the not over-scrupulous Croft. Leith is to be assaulted, he says, but the matter is in debate for fear of a repulse. "Proclamation is made by tuck of drum for the lifting of more men of war, but, partly for lack of money, and partly because men have no will to hazard, we can make no number . . . Send men and money with all possible expedition. If ye fear to offend France, in heart it is already at defiance with you, and abides only the opportunity and advantage. If ye list to craft with them, the sending of a thousand men or more to us can break no league nor Point of Peace contracted betwixt you and France. For it is free for your subjects to serve in war any prince or nation for their wages. And if you fear that such excuses will not prevail, you may declare them (the soldiers to be sent) rebels to your realm, when you shall be assured that they be in our country.<sup>2</sup>"

To this honourable proposal Croft replied that he "could not but somewhat marvel" that Knox,

<sup>1</sup> *State Correspondence.* Keith. *Appendix.*

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers.* Keith. *Appendix.*

“being a wise man, should require of him such present aid of men, money and munition” as he knew could not be furnished without open breach of treaty. “Praying you to consider how we may, without touch of honour and hurt of our Commonwealth, being now in good peace and amity, enter suddenly into open war and hostility, being no cause of breach nor manifest injury offered unto us. As to your devices how to colour our doings in that part, you must think that the world is not so blind but that it will soon espy the same. Therefore I pray you, require of us what we may do with honour and safety, and you shall not find us unwilling thereto.”<sup>1</sup>

Unabashed by this plain speaking, Knox continued to press the point. He beseeches God that “we both repent not the drift of time when the remedy shall not be so easy. This I will say as before, that, unless speedy order be taken in that case, our number will shortly be so mean that some will repent that they saw Edinburgh at this voyage.”<sup>2</sup>

As a matter of fact, they did repent it. Not a few of those, who had, for various reasons, thrown in their lot with the Congregation, were anything but delighted with the very precarious position in which they now found themselves, while the scruples of those who had not been

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*

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ready to renounce their allegiance to the Regent until urged thereto by Willock and Knox, became intensified by the danger of their situation. There were desertions every day. Cockburn of Ormiston, on his way to the brethren with 5000 crowns from Elizabeth, was caught by the Earl of Bothwell and the money taken from him. The congregation attacked Leith and were repulsed with heavy loss. On Nov. 5th, under a shower of stones and taunts from the populace, the godly fled out of the town.<sup>1</sup> "The despiteful tongues of the wicked railed upon us," writes Knox, "calling us traitors and heretics; everyone provoked the other to cast stones at us. We would never have believed that our natural countrymen and women would have wished our destruction so unmercifully and have so rejoiced in our adversity."

On Nov. 5th Sadler wrote to Randolph. He is sorry for the misfortune of the laird of Ormiston. To prevent the knowledge that the money was sent from hence (England), "the Reformers must say that it belonged either to themselves or to Ormiston."<sup>2</sup>

On the 13th of November the Council of England informed Sadler and Croft that they had heard of the retirement of the Protestants from Edinburgh. They were sending Mr.

<sup>1</sup> *John Knox and the Reformation*, Lang, 160.

<sup>2</sup> "State Correspondence," Keith. *Appendix*, Spottiswood III, 138.



Randall, "a gentleman of sure trust," with a sum of money to be used "as occasion shall require." It was most needful, in their opinion, that Mr. Randall should be sent secretly into Scotland to the Protestants, "to comfort them, and to encourage them not to shrink in any wise, but as he shall find the occasion, to give them counsel how to proceed, and how to order themselves; and likewise to animate them with an assurance, that, if they shall in any honourable sort, require aid of the Queen's Majesty, they shall not lack that which may in any reason be granted unto them." Elizabeth was sending a fleet to the North, and Mr. Randall was to "endeavour himself to understand all the strengths of the Scots, and also their lacks; so as we, being thereupon speedily advertised from you, with some part of your opinions, may better consider what is further necessary to be expedited."<sup>1</sup>

The Regent was now very ill, and Elizabeth and Cecil were determined to do their utmost, without openly declaring war, to help the rebels against her. Cecil drew up a paper tending to justify the Reformers, by declaring that they had only taken up arms in defence of their native dynasty, (the Hamiltons) as Mary Stuart had no children, and it was the intention of France to annex Scotland. The instructions given to William Winter, Master of the Ordnance of Her

<sup>1</sup> Keith, *Appendix. State Papers.*



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Majesty's Admiralty, written in the hand of Cecil, show that neither Elizabeth nor her minister were troubled with Croft's squeamishness on the matter of honour. He was to sail to Scotland with fourteen ships, to prevent any French vessel from bringing in either men or supplies, and to assist the rebels to the best of his power. "If it shall be thought fit not to attack the French fleet, but only to guard the mouth of the Frith," he was only to be on the defensive, and "to colour this, to give out that he is either driven by wind, or come to victual on the coast of Fife, or use some other pretext till further occasion should happen to commit hostility. It is thought the French will soon give him some good cause for war, and though there be no other, he may challenge the French for carrying the arms of England, to the dishonour of his sovereign and his country, which he cannot bide; and so, as from himself, he may begin hostilities upon any prospect of success."<sup>1</sup>

Leslie tells us that, on the arrival of the English warships, "the Queen Regent sent unto the vice-admiral, who was captain of the navy, called Master Winter, and asked at him for what cause he was come in those waters; who answered that he had been on the seas searching pirates, and in case any of them would come

<sup>1</sup> Keith. *Appendix. State Papers.*

in the Frith, he was come to await upon them.”<sup>1</sup>

The French, apparently, knew something of these transactions, or at least suspected them, for two months later we find “Sir William Cecil and John Mason, knights,” replying in the Queen’s name to the French ambassador, “who seemed desirous to know whether Her Majesty meant assuredly to keep peace with the French King,” that “except she had contrary occasion offered to her, she meant no otherwise.” The French ambassador, however, touched on the subject of the aiding or comforting of “such as he called rebels in Scotland, whereon Her Majesty, coveting to end her speech, used the less talk !”<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, says Lang, “the victorious Regent behaved with her wonted moderation. ‘She pursueth no man that hath showed himself against her at this time.’ She pardoned all burgesses of Edinburgh, and was ready to receive the Congregation to her grace, if they would put

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth’s genius for lying seems to have communicated itself to her servants.

The extent of the vigilance that Winter was expected to exercise can be gauged by a letter to Cecil from the Council of England, 12th June, 1560. It appears, they say, “that of late two principal persons have escaped by sea out of Leith and come into France, whereat we cannot but much marvel.” The Duke of Norfolk is to warn Winter to “cause better heed to be given henceforth to his charge.”

<sup>2</sup> Keith. *Appendix. State Papers and Documents.*

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away the traitor Lethington, Balnaves, and some others.”<sup>1</sup>

On the 27th of February 1559, at Berwick, the Duke of Norfolk in the name of Elizabeth of England, entered into a league with the Congregation against Mary of Guise. The French ambassador, de Noailles, in a letter written nearly a month earlier, declares that the rebels had already promised that, if, with Elizabeth's help, they could drive out the French, they would crown Hamilton king, to hold the kingdom in fief with an annual tribute, thus enabling the English Queen to quarter, in sign of her sovereignty, the arms of Scotland below those of England. They had also undertaken to give into the hands of Elizabeth or her Lieutenant-general, four of the strongholds of Scotland: Dunbar, Dumbarton, Dumfries and Inchkeith. The army of England was not to move out of Scotland “till these things be accomplished.”<sup>2</sup>

The English army entered Scotland on April 2nd, 1560, to be joined on the 4th, at Prestonpans, by the Reforming Scots. The assault on Leith took place on May 7th, and was repulsed by the besieged. “The Scottish leaguer-lassies,” says Lang, “true to the Auld

<sup>1</sup> *John Knox and the Reformation.* Sadler to Cecil Nov. 15th, 1559.

<sup>2</sup> Teulet. *Pieces et Documents relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse.*



Alliance, were loading the muskets for the French, and pouring all that was hot and heavy on the heads of the assailants." The union of hearts (with England) was a failure. "We are so well esteemed here," wrote Sir George Howard, "that all our poor hurt men are fain to lie in the streets and can get no house-room for money." This fact, with the jeers of the inhabitants when the Brethren fled in November, proves that the English alliance, and perhaps Protestantism, were unpopular."<sup>1</sup>

On May 10th, "to save Christian blood," Mary of Guise proposed a conference. She was willing to send away the French, but could not digest, according to Lethington, the compact with England. She asked to speak with d'Oysel, the commander of the French troops, but this was refused her. She had retired, when the English crossed the Border, to Edinburgh Castle, where Lord Erskine, the neutral Governor, had received her honourably. Her dream of dying in peace in her own country, surrounded by those she loved<sup>2</sup> was not to be realised.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Scotland*, II, 65.

<sup>2</sup> On the 4th of December of the previous year, Mary Stuart and her husband had given a commission to René of Lorraine to administer the Kingdom of Scotland in place of "our beloved Mother, who, on account of her infirm health, and perceiving herself incapable of the fatigue of State affairs, desires to withdraw privately from Scotland to France, in order to obtain rest and relaxation from the burden and vexation she has to endure both by night and by day, of care and conflicts which have entirely undermined her health." Second Suppl. Labanoff. VII, 282, 283. c.f. Strickland.



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Her last public act was the issue of a summons for Parliament to meet on July 5th, in order to consider the best means of putting an end to the dissensions "at present dividing this kingdom." Feeling the approach of death, she sent for those of the nobles who were in Edinburgh or near it, and, having expressed her grief for the troubles of the realm and the dissensions which had caused them, "verie gentilly" asked them to forgive her, as she from her heart forgave them, for anything she might have said or done to offend them.<sup>1</sup> "There was nane," says Leslie, "of all that companie, of so hard a heart, or stout a stomach or adamant a mind as not to be movet to tears." Her love for France she did not deny, "for my own part, I did ever favour the weal of the realm of Scotland, by reason I had honour to be Queen-Regent thereof."<sup>2</sup> She begged them to dismiss both the armies of France and of England, but to remain true to the old alliance, and, above all, not to suffer the English to remain when the French had departed, since they intended "nothing else than the subjugation of Scotland." She then exhorted them to be faithful to their Queen, her daughter, and, in token that she parted in peace with them all, embraced them all without respect to party, bidding them farewell with gentle

<sup>1</sup> Tytler. Leslie. Keith.

<sup>2</sup> Leslie. *Hist. of Scotland*.

words and looks full of sweetness.<sup>1</sup> The Lords of the Congregation entreated her to send for one of the preachers, and she consented to admit Willock, to whom she listened "with supreme courtesy."<sup>2</sup> She was quite ready to agree with him (as what Catholic would not?) that "there was no salvation but through the death of Jesus Christ," but when he began to discourse on "the abomination of the Mass," she remained steadfastly silent. Some say, wrote Knox in his *Historie* "that she was anointed in the Papistical manner," and, since the Archbishop of St. Andrews was with her in the Castle, there seems no reason to doubt the fact. She died on June 11th, 1560. "God, for His great mercy's sake, rid us from the rest of the Guisian blood! Amen, amen!" was Knox's Christian comment on her death.

<sup>1</sup> Tytler. Leslie. Keith.

<sup>2</sup> Lang. *Hist. of Scotland*, II, 67.

## CHAPTER IV

QUINTIN KENNEDY, ABBOT OF CROSSRAGUEL.

“A man as conspicuous for his learning and eloquence as for his nobility and birth.”—Leslie.

“The able and learned Quintin Kennedy.” Dr. Cameron Lees. *The Abbey of Paisley*.

WHAT were the churchmen doing during these troublous times? Knox tells us that, whenever they did make an attempt at the defence of their Faith, which was seldom, the erudition and eloquence of the preachers put them openly to shame. Leslie, the Catholic historian, tells a different tale, and the few remnants of their disputations which survive enable us to form our own judgment on their worth.

Foremost among the men, who devoted themselves whole-heartedly to the defence of the Established Church, was Quintin Kennedy, son of the second Earl of Cassilis, and grandson, on the mother's side, of Archibald, Earl of Argyll. “Distinguished as a historian, a theologian and a scholar, famed for his piety and courage in resisting the steady current of reformed opinion, Quintin Kennedy was emphatically a man abreast

of his age.”<sup>1</sup> Born in 1520, he succeeded his uncle in 1547 as Abbot of Crossraguel,<sup>2</sup> ruling the monastery well and wisely, and doing all in his power to keep alive in his countrymen the old attachment to the Catholic Faith. His first publication was *A Compendious Tractive*, printed at Edinburgh, in 1558, by John Scot. Leslie asserts that two Calvinist Ministers were brought back to the Catholic Church by Kennedy’s writings<sup>3</sup> and many wavering Catholics strengthened, which latter statement is corroborated by Davidson, who, publishing a few years later *Ane Answer* to the *Tractive*, acknowledges that he did so because, by means of it, “many persons were moved to continue in their old superstition and idolatry, who, if it had been suppressed in its infancy, would have embraced the true and sincere religion of Christ.” The verdict of a modern and impartial judge on Davidson’s work is that it is “much inferior to the *Tractive* in learning, as well as in style and expression.”<sup>4</sup>

The *Compendious Tractive* is dedicated to Kennedy’s “dearest and best-beloved nephew,” Gilbert, Master of Cassilis, who had earnestly

<sup>1</sup> *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel*, ed., Hunter Blair.

<sup>2</sup> Founded in 1244, by Kennedy’s ancestor, Gilbert, Earl of Carrick.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the *Tractive* Kennedy published several other works, the best known of which was a treatise on the Mass, called : *The Misterie of the Sacrifice of the Mass*.

<sup>4</sup> Grub. *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, II, 63.



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enquired of his uncle, "according to his familiar and gentyll manner, what was the most efficacious way to pacify and establish the conscience of a Christian man in all matters concerning faith and religion." In his modest and humble preface the author declares—and here he is too modest,—that his purpose is far above his ability. Yet, says he, since he puts his whole confidence in Him Who caused the dumb to speak, the blind to see, the ignorant to understand, he doubts nothing but that his readers will look on his efforts" with as much favour and good mind as did the good Lord on the poor woman, who, while others were giving richly, according to their ability, humbly offered her sober farthing."<sup>1</sup>

What is the most efficacious way to pacify and establish the conscience of a Christian man in all matters concerning faith and religion?

The Abbot answers the question as St. Athanasius would have answered it in the fourth century or any Catholic theologian in the twentieth.

"Is it even remotely possible," he asks, "that Almighty God, Who has not ceased since the beginning of the world to provide all things necessary for both the souls and bodies of men, should have failed to provide what is most necessary of all things for man's peace and

<sup>1</sup> *Ane Compendious Tractive*, by Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel. *Wodrow Miscellany*, Vol. I. The spelling has been modernised throughout.

comfort, a way by which he may know the truth? Is it conceivable that man should be left to battle among doubts and varying human opinions without any other guide than his own knowledge and understanding? Truly it may be thought that God has provided something better than this to settle occasions of debate concerning faith and religion, than leaving it to every man to take whatever opinion he pleases."

Whence come all the debates and errors that have arisen since the beginning? From the wrong understanding and false interpretation of the Scriptures. But how can the right understanding of the Scriptures be discerned from the wrong? If there were a trustworthy judge in such matters, the chief occasions of error would cease to exist. There is such a judge appointed by God—the Holy Catholic Church—and this the Scriptures themselves plainly declare and teach. The Scriptures cannot take the place of the judge; they are the witnesses, for our Lord Himself said: "the Scriptures bear witness of Me." Now, if God had appointed the Scriptures to be judge, what endless error and confusion! There was never yet a preacher of error in the world who did not declare that the Scriptures were his authority, refusing all other judgment. If there had not been a judge to maintain the true interpretation of the Scriptures, no man would have known what to believe in any age, or how to discern truth from falsehood. Arius defended his errors by declaring that the

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Scriptures were in his favour. What was done? A Council of the Church was called at Niceæ, the true interpretation declared, and his error condemned. Macedonius arose—quoting Scripture also; Nestorius denied the Divine mystery of the Incarnation, and had no less than threescore passages of Scripture to defend his assertion. He declared that the Council of Ephesus, which condemned his error, was wrong, and he himself, having the Spirit of God, in the right. Is it surprising that others should do the same?

It is argued, continues Kennedy, that although it did belong once to the Apostles and their successors to interpret the Scriptures, this was because they had the Spirit of God and were the true Church, which does not mean that the General Councils which have since met were in the same position. The Apostles, too, led a godly life, preaching and teaching the truth, and were ready to suffer all things for God, whereas in these days those who take to themselves the place of the Apostles and the true Church do none of these things. Therefore their interpretation of Scripture is not to be received as was that of the Apostles and those who directly succeeded them.

That there were many and great abuses in the Church of his day, and that the lives of many churchmen were anything but apostolic, Kennedy frankly allows and heartily deplures. Yet, since the gift and promise of the Holy Ghost was given to the Apostles and their successors, not



for themselves alone, but for the instruction of the Church, which is to endure to the end of the world, those who stand in the place of the Apostles must necessarily have that gift in all that appertains to their office. "Lo, I am with you at all times, even to the end of the world." The Apostles were not to remain to the end of world, but their office was.

The General Councils, from first to last, he urges, were made up of the most godly and learned men of the time, but given that these men had been vicious, what then? Would that have done away with their authority? Most certainly not, for God does not work with men in authority in respect of their persons, but to show His infinite goodness to His Church, which has been committed to their charge. Ciaiphas, for instance, though a bad man, spoke true prophecy, in respect of the authority he had from God, Who sometimes works through a wicked instrument. Judas was an Apostle, yet Christ Himself called him a devil. Even if a wicked priest administers the Sacraments they lose nothing in their effect, which is always the same, be the priest saint or sinner, for the Sacraments do not take effect of themselves, but of God. Indeed if vice did hinder authority, how could we be sure of anything that ever had been done by men in authority?<sup>1</sup> Who is to

<sup>1</sup> See *St John Chrysostom*. "What hindrance is the badness of the minister when the Lord is Lord? After a homicide's baptism we baptize not, for the homicide gives Christ's baptism, which is so holy a Sacrament, that not even a homicide's ministration can pollute it."



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know if anyone in authority is in sin or not? "He that resisteth the Higher Power resisteth God, and works the thing which is his own damnation," says the Apostle. And Christ Himself said: "The Scribes and Pharisees have sat in the chair of Moses, whatsoever thing therefore they bid you do, do it; but according to their works do ye not." By this test it may be seen that God wills obedience to men in authority, whether their lives be good or not. Those who interpret Scripture according to their own ideas set themselves above the whole Church of God and all its Councils; in this way all the errors that have been condemned by the Church since the time of the Apostles might be brought up and renewed; there would be everlasting confusion. "I imagine," says Kennedy, of the Reformers, "that none of them will be so proud as to esteem himself to have alone the knowledge of the Scriptures, and all the ancient Fathers to have been in ignorance."

"It is asked nowadays," he continues, "why every man should not read the Scripture to seek out his own salvation. 'No one shall answer for my soul but myself.' This saying is true and means well if it be properly understood."

"It is indeed necessary," he continues, "that every Christian man, however poor, should know all things needful for his salvation, and above all things the two precepts most necessary for all: to love God above all things and his neighbour as himself, in which things are

contained all the Law. Let him first know them and then understand them, as God gives him grace, for he will have to answer for them at the latter day. There is one easy familiar way to this, which God Himself has provided for man's salvation—the Articles of the Truth, as the Church has ever taught them; the Apostles Creed, in which is to be found all that is necessary for a Christian man's belief; the Commandments, by which a man learns to please God conformably to the Faith, and to do his duty to his neighbour, and the Lord's Prayer. A singularly plain and perfect way."

It may be asked, he says, if it is necessary to believe and use the Sacraments. The Gospel declares that to believe and use them is necessary, and for this reason.

Although Christ Jesus offered up His precious Body as the heavenly Sacrifice, by which the wrath of His Father was pacified, yet this does not take away all sin as if man were impeccable, for in that case the Law of God and the Commandments would have been given in vain, and hell ordained in vain for those who die without repentance, despairing of God's mercy. Christ, Who was Himself both Physician and Medicine, made a medicine and a remedy for all sin, but unless this medicine be duly applied, it is not profitable for him that needs it. If men do not trust the physician nor take his medicine, the fact that the remedy exists will not profit them. It is not enough to *believe* that Christ died for us,

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and that, by His death sin was taken away. We must *apply* that death according to His intentions and Will by the Sacraments of the Church.

But the Sacraments are the greatest secrets and mysteries contained in all Scripture, how can they be understood? By reading the Scripture? Then every man's understanding of them will be different. Luther and his disciple, Ecolampadius, for instance, are directly contrary to each other on the subject of the Holy Eucharist. If men had chosen this way and God had given no other, miserably would His Church have been divided. The only way is to look to the Church of God, in this as in all else, believing the wisdom of all the General Councils, where all these things have been discussed and the truth laid down, ever since the death of Christ.

As for the reading of the Scriptures, the Church has defined nothing on this point, and men believe differently. It is expedient to read them, if all who read, do so temperately, in order to help them to live well and conformably to God's Will, or to overcome their own special weaknesses of character. But to read in order to see what special passages can be turned to controversy, to stir up strife and debate against the doctrines that have been taught from age to age and time to time, no. It is better to leave it alone.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "There is a good deal of popular misapprehension" says a modern writer "about the way in which the Bible was regarded in the Middle Ages. Some people think that it was very little read, even by the clergy; whereas the fact is that



He laments the evils of the time, and more especially the crying evil which lay at the root of all the abuses in the Church—the intruding of unworthy men, often laymen or mere children, into Church benefices.

“If a benefice be vacant, the great men of the realm will have it for temporal reward, or else they will stir up sedition. And when they have gotten the benefice, if they have a brother or a son nourished in vice all his days; out of hand he shall be mounted on a mule, with a side gown and round bonnet, and then it is question whether he or his mule knows best how to do his office. What wonder is it when such people are chosen to have Christ’s flock in keeping, that the simple people be wicked? Likewise thou mayest see daily by experience a bairn and a babe, to whom

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the sermons of the mediæval preachers are more full of Scriptural quotations and allusions than any sermons in these days; and the writers on other subjects are so full of Scriptural allusion that it is evident that their minds were saturated with Scriptural diction. Another common error is that the clergy were unwilling that the laity should read the Bible for themselves and carefully kept it in an unknown tongue that the people might not be able to read it. The truth is that most people who could read at all could read Latin, and would certainly prefer to read the authorized Vulgate to any vernacular version.” Dr. Cutts. *Turning Points of English Church History* pp. 200-201. Writing in the *Academy* of August 7th, 1886, Mr. Karl Pearson says: “The Catholic Church has quite enough to answer for, but in the fifteenth century it certainly did not hold back the Bible from the lay-folk; and it gave them in the vernacular a long series of devotional works which for language and religious sentiment



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scarcely thou wouldst give a fair apple to keep, get perchance five thousand souls to guide. And all for avarice, the root of all evil, that their parents may get the profit of the benefice. The convent and place, where God should be daily honoured and served, goes clean to ruin, and yet they, who are the procurers, disponers and upsetters of such monstrous farces in the Church of God are the principal criers out on the vices of kirkmen. If the Church had her old ancient liberty, so that a bishop were freely chosen by his chapter, and the abbot and prior by the convent, there would be capable and worthy men in all the estates of the Church. This is the way to come in at the door, of which our Saviour spoke, whereas now tyranny and avarice are as thieves creeping in at backdoors and windows.

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have never been surpassed. Indeed we are inclined to think it made a mistake in allowing the masses such ready access to the Bible. It ought to have recognised the Bible once for all as a work absolutely unintelligible without a long course of historical study ; and so far as it was supposed to be inspired, very dangerous in the hands of the ignorant." The writer quoted seems to be ignorant of the fact that a "gloss," or the interpretation of the Scriptures by the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, was usually published with the Bible.

In 1820, Pius VII, writing to the English Vicars Apostolic, urges them to encourage their people to read the Holy Scriptures, "for nothing can be more useful, more consolatory and more animating, because they serve to confirm the faith, to support the hope, and to inflame the charity of the true Christian." Pope Leo VIII granted an indulgence to all who read the Holy Scriptures for at least a quarter of an hour in the day.

And thus, blinded in avarice, great men think to exalt their houses by abuse of the patrimony and rents of the Church, which without doubt will be utter ruin to many great houses, besides the great peril and anger of the latter day."

Those who are responsible for all these evils, he says, will have their punishment hereafter; "the terrible day will come when the unhappy avaricious man will rue the time when he had a brother or son, to whom he bare such fleshly and ungodly favour, as to set up to be a ruler and guider of God's flock, one who could not guide himself. The miserable and ignorant man placed in authority shall curse the time that ever he took on him such a charge. In the meantime the poor simple people, so dearly bought by the Blood and Death of Christ our Saviour, miserably perish, the Church is plundered, God is dishonoured, all heresies, wickedness and vice reign."

As for the laws and constitutions made by the Church, when compared with the Scriptures, truly understood according to the interpretation of the ancient Fathers, (*having consideration of the occasions and circumstances of the time*),<sup>1</sup> I dare to say boldly, that in the opinion and doctrine of men of godly learning, they will be found agreeable to God's

<sup>1</sup>This is just where the Reformers failed. "Knox," says Andrew Lang, (*John Knox and the Reformation*, p. 245.) "deliberately tried to restore, by a pestilent anachronism, in a Christian age and country, the ferocities attributed to ancient Israel.

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Word and a powerful help to enable men the better to keep God's law.

It has been argued, he says, that some General Councils have condemned what others have approved; and that where the spirit of God is there can be no contradiction. This shows a want of understanding of the work of a Council. Councils are summoned to treat of two different subjects, matters of faith and matters of discipline. As regards the former there never has been any contradiction in the decrees of any Council (not schismatic) since the time of the Apostles. As regards the latter, it is equally certain that they do differ, in so far as times and occasions and conditions differ.<sup>1</sup> The Church can alter, and often has altered her own laws and constitutions to suit different conditions and ages, whereas her doctrine is, and always has been, one and the same.

"Are Luther, Ecolampadius, Zwinglius, Melancthon, Bucer and Bullinger one in doctrine?" he asks. They are all at variance with each other, and this is always the way with those who refuse the judgment of the Church on the mysteries of God's word. On one point only do they agree "they all cry out with open jaws against the Catholic Church and her Councils,

<sup>1</sup> See Newman—*Essay on Development of Doctrine*. If Christianity be an universal religion, suited not simply to one locality or period, but to all times and places, it cannot but vary in its relations and dealings towards the world around it."



maintaining, each and all, that they, and they alone are right, and that they, and they alone, are the possessors of the true Faith. The Scriptures, they say, are for them. Did not all the holy doctors of the Church and the Fathers read the Scriptures? Did not the devil himself quote the Scriptures to justify himself to Christ?"

There are many things of Faith, moreover, which cannot be directly proved from the express testimony of Holy Scripture. Such are infant Baptism, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity,<sup>1</sup> the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin. Yet St. Jerome calls Helvidius a heretic for denying the latter truth. The Church existed long before there was any written Scripture, save that which was written in the hearts of men, and which they transmitted to others. The Apostles received their authority from Jesus Christ long before the New Testament was written. The Church existed before the Scriptures, and is the guardian of the Scriptures, and it is her business now, as then and always, whenever doubt arises, to make manifest the true interpretation of the Scriptures. This authority she has ever had from Christ, and is governed thereunto, according to His promise by the Holy Ghost."

This is but a sketch of the teaching of this sixteenth century Abbot, but it will be sufficient

<sup>1</sup>This is true of the fully developed doctrine of the Holy Trinity, in its entirety, but Catholic theologians generally teach that the existence of three Divine Persons can be proved from the New Testament, as also the fact that there is but one God.



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to show that his knowledge and learning were what might have been expected in a man of his position.

Ninian Winzet, who wrote a few years later on the same subjects, tells us that Kennedy's works were "commended by sundry learned men of both England and Scotland." The *Compendious Tractive* is published in its entirety, in the quaint old Scots of the period, in the first volume of the *Wodrow Miscellany*.

In the spring which followed the publication of the *Compendious Tractive*, John Willock, one of the Reformed preachers, threw down a gauntlet which Abbot Kennedy immediately picked up. We have an account of the whole matter in a letter which he wrote to James Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, enclosing the correspondence on both sides.

"According to your writing sent to me with the Prior of the Black Friars," he says, "I passed on Pasch-even to Ayr, and there remained eight days. Before my coming Willock had preached with intolerable exclamations, crying out on the Mass, persuading the whole people that he expounded certain Scriptures, alleged by him to be truly conformable to the interpretation of the Doctors, and declaring them to be expressly against the Mass and the idolatry used in it.

The names of the doctors which he cited were Irenaeus, Chrysostom, Hilarius, Origen and Tertullian. After that the matter was shown to me, I perceived the craft of the knave, who,

believing that he should get no reply, named these doctors, thinking that their works would not have been in this country, and so he might be able to apply them as he pleased.

It happened that I had all the Doctors which he named, and several others, who treat of the *Coena* as a Sacrifice, especially Irenaeus and Chrysostom, and perceiving the people abused in this manner, I was constrained by my conscience to oppose myself to this wicked rogue's heresy and doctrine. Divers writings passed between us, which I caused to be made manifest to all the honest men of the town. In conclusion, I drove the rogue to that point, that I constrained him to refuse the interpretation of the Doctors, excepting in so far as he thought they were agreeable with the Word of God, which was as good as right nought."

When the day of reasoning came, four or five hundred men had convened to fortify the preacher. "Truly, my Lord, I could have had twice as many, for my nephew<sup>1</sup> and Lord Eglinton, with all their friends and servants, were in the town anxious to come to my defence." This, however, says the Abbot, he refused, fearing a riot, and went to the place of meeting, accompanied only by a few witnesses—among whom was the prior of the Black Friars, whom Kennedy commends for his staunch and loyal attitude

<sup>1</sup> The Master of Cassilis, to whom the *Tractive* was dedicated.

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throughout. With them was a certain notary, John Gervase, whose name appears several times in the Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel, and who was evidently an old friend of the Abbot's. "He drew up documents," says Kennedy, "openly, both at the Market Cross and the Parish Kirk, where Willock was preaching,<sup>1</sup> at which the Principals of the Brethren were marvellously miscontented." "There came one of the Brethren to me," he adds, "within two days after I had given in my writings against Willock, and said that he would come with one boy and reason with me in my chamber, which I always refused. Your Lordship will not believe how satisfied men are to know that they (the Reformers) refuse the judgment of the Doctors towards the interpretation of the Scriptures; for they made the country to believe that the old Doctors were for them all the way, and would not believe me for anything that I could say, and especially even some of my own friends,—until now that it has come to this proof." A familiar little human touch makes the letter strangely living: "I pray your Lordship pardon me that I molest you with such trifles. I am so homely with your Lordship that I think that I cannot abuse you."

<sup>1</sup> They caught him in the pulpit, "*apprehenso in suggesto dictae Ecclesiae*," says the deed drawn up by Gervase and signed by the witnesses, when, Willock having failed to keep the appointment, they went to the Market Cross and to the church to bear witness to the fact.



The "writings" which passed between the preacher and the Abbot are extremely interesting, showing as they do, the arguments advanced by those of the new religion against the time-honoured reasoning of the old.

The Abbot begins by taking up the challenge of Willock. "Whosoever will maintain that the Mass is idolatry," he declares, "I will prove him a heretic by the express Word of God, as interpreted by the most ancient and godly writers and Doctors who have been since the time of Jesus Christ unto this day." His adversary may choose twelve men "of reasonable judgment and understanding" as witnesses, and he will do the same; this will avoid all danger of a public riot. Fourteen hours notice is to be given before the disputation takes place.

To this Willock replied: "Whoever affirms his ability to prove the Mass to be the Lord's Supper, or the institution of Christ, by the Word of God, affirms something that he will not be able to prove. I affirm it to be none of both, but plain idolatry and superstition." He consents to the proposed conditions. The day he chooses is Sunday next, in the morning, in St. John's Kirk at Ayr; he names his witnesses. The order of disputation to begin at God's Word.

To this Kennedy agrees, but thinks a private house better than a public Church, for he desires "no quarrelling, tumult or strife, but only the just trial of God's Word to the glory of God and the quietness of the congregation." He pledges



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himself, with the grace of God, to prove Willock a heretic, by God's Word, conformably, as he has already said, to the doctrine, judgment and understanding of the ancient Fathers and Doctors. He is content to begin at God's Word.

If Kennedy dislikes a public place, replies Willock, he is ready to meet him in the house of the Laird of Carnel in Ayr, with the desired number of witnesses. Kennedy is to proceed in the disputation, beginning with the Word of God, next Sunday at ten, by which he is content to be judged accordingly.

To this the Abbot takes exception. Willock demands to be judged by the Scriptures without mention of the interpretation of the Doctors. This will give rise to endless strife and cavil, for both will maintain that they have the Scriptures in their favour, and there will be no competent judge to decide which is right. The only competent judges, in case of dissension, he again asserts, are the ancient Doctors of the Church, such as Irenaeus, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Damascene, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Theophylact and Tertullian, whose understanding of God's Word was known, and whose interpretation has always been accepted by the Church. He reminds Willock that the root of the whole matter was his own assertion that he would admit the judgment of the Doctors towards the true interpretation of the Scripture. He agrees as to the place and the time. He re-asserts his first statement. To that he will stand.

As to Kennedy's contention that it will mean endless discussion and cavil to stand at the judgment of the Scriptures, unless he is willing to admit the interpretation of the Doctors cited, answers Willock, his "mind is and ever was, to stand to the judgment of God's Word *only*, by which all manner of heresies are to be confounded." The mind of the Doctors named and that of others, he will gladly admit, he declares, "as long as they speak not contrary thereto," that is to say he will allow all the Doctors, "*so far as their sayings and judgment agree with the said Word of God, otherwise not.*"

This, argues Kennedy, is as much as to say that Willock intends to constitute himself judge of the ancient Doctors as to whether their interpretations are in agreement with the Scriptures. "Truly, in my conscience I cannot give you that pre-eminence, unless I knew in you more good life and excellent learning than in all the ancient Doctors, which as yet is concealed from me." If Willock will be content, according to his challenge, to abide by the interpretation of the Doctors, whenever a difference of opinion arises, he is quite ready to keep the place, time, and appointment. He reminds him again that it was Willock himself who declared plainly from the pulpit that he could prove from the ancient Doctors that the Mass was idolatry. If he will produce any Doctor of the Church from the time of Christ to this day, who says what he affirms, or any text of Scripture with any appearance of

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confirmation of his doctrine, conformably to the interpretation of it by the Doctors and Fathers, he will give up the cause without further argument.

Willock, evidently nettled by the Abbot's suggestion that he cannot see in him more good life and excellent learning than in all the ancient Fathers and Doctors together, replies with a *tu quoque* : "I do not see it in you either." The judgement of the old authors, he says, as well as those of the new, have always been, and are referred to the "godly readers." He quotes passages proving that the Doctors appealed to the Scriptures as their judge, and exhorted men to do the same. "Which of us defers the cause," he asks, "he that promised to prove to me a heretic by the Word of God, and agreed to begin his disputation at the same, and now falleth to the interpretation of the Doctors, or he who seeks the judgment of his cause by God's Word only?" He never said that he would abide by the Doctors, *contrary to the Scripture*, neither will he say so now. He is contented to be judged by the Scripture, truly understood.

In reply to this Kennedy repeats his first statement. "If you will say that the Mass is idolatry, I will prove you to be a heretic by God's Word, according to the interpretation thereof of the old godly Doctors and writers." He is content, he says, to begin his reasoning at God's Word, providing always, as he has already said, that whenever a difference as to the interpretation of the Scriptures arises, it should be



referred to the Doctors of the Church. Failing this, he says, "I see that no fruit can come of our reasoning, but only contention and strife." The admission of the interpretation of the Doctors is necessary in order to come to any decision whatsoever. "All this have I written," he adds, "not believing but you would abide at the judgment of the Doctors, especially such as you yourself alleged in the pulpit."

"I will keep the appointment, on the day and at the hour," returned Willock, "choose whether you will or not! March 31st at nine at night."

The day came and the hour, but not Willock. After having waited for some time at the Laird of Carnel's house, Kennedy's witnesses, accompanied, as we have seen, by the notary Gervase, proceeded to the Market Cross and there drew up documents attesting that Willock had failed to keep the appointment. They then proceeded to the parish Church, where they found Willock preaching, and one John Blair, acting as the Abbot's representative, intimated to him what had been written. It was probably this proceeding that produced among the Brethren the "marvellous discontentment," mentioned by Kennedy in his letter to the Archbishop. A public instrument was then drawn up by the Notary Public and signed by him and all the witnesses.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The correspondence in full, together with the deed drawn up by Gervase, is to be found in the Appendix to Keith, *History of Church and State in Scotland*, Book III, p. 189.



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The Reformation, meanwhile, was progressing. The ratification of the treaty of peace of Edinburgh depended on the fulfilment of certain clauses which the Reformers were deliberately ignoring. All questions concerning religion were to be remitted to the King and Queen, to whom certain persons of quality were to be sent to debate on the matter and to receive the ratification of the treaty. These representatives were to be chosen at a Parliament or Convention, to be held, with the consent of Francis and Mary, on the 20th of August. The Estates were to be summoned "according to custom, it being lawful for those to be present who were accustomed to be present." Complaints of aggrieved clerics were to be considered by the Estates, and reasonable reparation made; the property and persons of the clergy were not to be disturbed, nor was any wrong or violence to be done them.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note the manner in which these conditions were fulfilled. On the departure of the French and English troops, a thanksgiving

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It was copied from the original papers then in the Scots College at Paris, which were destroyed at the time of the French Revolution, together with many other valuable papers and documents which had belonged to the Archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador in France during the reign of Mary and James VI.

<sup>1</sup> Keith. *History of Church and State in Scotland*. Book I, chap. XII (where all the conditions of the Treaty are given at full length).

service was held by the Brethren in St. Giles' Church, after which districts and churches were assigned to the different preachers. Superintendents were then appointed, John Spottiswood (father of the historian), to Lothian, Willock to Glasgow, Erskine of Dun, a layman, to Angus and the Mearns. The new religion was thus officially set up before the Convention met, which it did—*without* the consent of Francis and Mary—on the first of August. Spottiswood relates that there was great altercation on the subject, "divers holding that no Parliament could be held, seeing that their sovereigns had sent no commission, but they were over-ruled by the majority." Crowds of people who were not "accustomed to be present," now appeared and claimed seats. "In the space of seventy three years," says Keith<sup>1</sup> "hardly any of the inferior gentry had attended Parliament, and therefore I know not but it may be deemed somewhat unusual for a hundred of them to jump at once into Parliament." A number of the temporal and spiritual peers declined to attend, and others were absent from various causes, but the lesser gentry were mostly upholders of the new doctrines, and their presence was necessary.<sup>2</sup> When the Lords of the Articles,

<sup>1</sup> Keith. Book I Chap. XII, where the list of all present at the Parliament is given.

<sup>2</sup> "The smaller barons were notoriously attached to the reforming party, and the reassertion of their right was a precaution taken to secure an overwhelming preponderance for the new movement." Rait. *The Scottish Parliament*, 24.

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whose business it was to prepare the measures to be brought before the Estates, were chosen, the clergy protested that, of those selected from their ranks, several, such as the Lord James and other holders of ecclesiastical lands and titles, were laymen, and the rest apostates. But, says Spottiswood, there was no remedy, "it behoved them to take law, who formerly had given it to others."<sup>1</sup>

A "Supplication" was now drawn up by the Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses and others, to the nobility and Estates, reminding them of their long-standing desire for freedom of conscience and the reformation of abuses, and demanding, as a step towards the attainment of both, that "the Catholic doctrine be abolished and punishment appointed for the transgressors." The petition was couched in such terms that one of Scotland's greatest historians has described it as "difficult to read without emotions of pity and sorrow."<sup>2</sup>

In answer to this request the petitioners were asked to lay before the Convention a summary of the doctrines which they desired to establish as the National Religion. The Confession of Faith was drawn up in a space of four days by Knox and his colleagues, and passed and ratified in a few days more. The Archbishop of St. Andrews protested, together with the Bishops of Dunkeld

<sup>1</sup> Spottiswood. Keith.

<sup>2</sup> Fraser Tytler. *Hist. of Scotland*, III p. 128.



and Dunblane. Five of the temporal peers voted against the Confession, which was passed by an overwhelming majority.

It is obvious that the Catholic clergy did not realise the full import of these proceedings. That they expected a settlement of the religious question at a lawfully constituted Parliament announced for the 20th, of August, is evident from a memorandum sent from Archbishop Hamilton to Monluc, the Queen's plenipotentiary,<sup>1</sup> which gives an incidental glimpse into the condition of affairs then prevalent. The Archbishop asks that certain points be made clear to the Lords of the Congregation; that any Prelates who go to the Parliament may "freely pass and re-pass, they and their servants, without any danger of their body"; that they may "freely say their vote in Parliament, conformably to their conscience and without injury and scorn"; and that they may "say and cause say Mass and Divine Service in all parts of the diocese without cummir or offence." He also asks that "the Commissioner who shall come from the King and Queen for the holding of the Parliament be so restricted that it may not be left to the Lords to abrogate any Acts already passed or to make any alteration to the prejudice of any of the three Estates, and that, if any such innovation be intended, the proposals be

<sup>1</sup> Preserved in the Archives of the Scots College at Paris and published by Keith, Book III, p. 486,



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submitted to the King and Queen for their consent." They probably looked upon the passing of the Confession of Faith as one of those coups d'état so common in the history of their country, when warring factions were alternately in power, and looked forward to seeing it all set right by the King and Queen.

Nor were other observers deceived by the apparent unanimity of the Convention—"Although the religion hath here, in outward appearance, the upper hand, and few or none there be that dare profess the contrary," wrote Lethington to Cecil on the 10th of August,<sup>1</sup> "yet we know the hollow hearts of a great number, who would be glad to see it and us overthrown, and if time served would join with her, (the Queen) to that effect." Keith, moreover, mentions "a pretty singular story" told by Archbishop Spottiswood in the M.S. copy of his History anent the drawing up of the Book of Discipline. "Divers of the number employed to draw it up," he says, "were for maintaining the ancient Policy, only purging it from abuses and corruptions that had crept in; the intention not being to make a new Church but to reform it, by restoring it to that perfection from which it had swerved. But John Knox, whose influence had chiefest sway, and who liked best the course which stood in extreme opposition to the Church of Rome, would hear

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers.* Quoted by Keith. *Appendix Book II.*

of none of this," and so the rest gave way.<sup>1</sup> Knox himself admits that "some grudged, and so the Book of Discipline became odious unto them."

On the 23rd of August an Act was passed "that there be no Mass said within this realme; and the sayer and hearer thereof shall for the first fault lose all goods moveable and unmoveable, and themselves is to be punished at ye will of ye Magistrate, if they are apprehended; for the second fault, banishing of ye realme perpetual; for the third fault, Death."<sup>2</sup> On the following day the authority and jurisdiction of the Pope was formally renounced and all former Acts not agreeing with the Confession of Faith rescinded. A declaration was also made that, as no Churchman had appeared to give in cause of complaint, although they had been summoned to do so, the Lords and Nobility considered that they had done their duty "conformably to the Articles of Peace."

What was the secret of the non-appearance of the clerics when redress was offered to them for all the injustice they had suffered? "In all this tyme," wrote the unknown author of the "Diurnal of Occurents," "all kirkmen's goods and gear were spoiled and reft from them in every place where the same could be apprehended, for every man for the maist part that could get

<sup>1</sup> Spottiswood. Keith. *Book III. Chap. I.*

<sup>2</sup> Keith. Book I, Chap. XII. (where the Acts are given in full.)

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anything pertaining to any kirkmen, thought the same as well-won gear." A letter of the Chamberlain of the Archbishop of Glasgow to his master in Paris throws some light on the matter.

"Concerning your Lordship's business of your Lordship's living of the bishopry of Glasgow," he writes, "I can find nothing to be gotten here, but am always denied both with my Lord Duke's Grace and the Council. For first I went to my Lord Duke<sup>1</sup> incontinent after your Lordship's departing and desired restitution of the Castle and Places of Glasgow and Lochwood, and gave in Bills to the Lords of Council desiring restitution conformably to the Articles of Peace . . . and I remained continually in Edinburgh during the Parliament, and there made Bills, as the rest of the spiritual Lords, as my Lord of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Dunblain, Dumfermline and others of the clergy, who could get no answer the space of thirty days. And the last day of the Parliament, at five hours at even, the Lords of the Articles, called for the Bishops to present their Bills. And they were all departed, by reason that they would not subscribe with the Lords of the Articles, and *therefore they were called because of their departure.* I gave in sundry Bills to the Lords of the Parliament, desiring an answer; I could never get the answer of one of them. At last I passed to the Master of Maxwell, who sat in

<sup>1</sup> Chatelherault.



special to my Lord Duke for your Lordship's affairs, and he got an answer of my Lord Duke that his Grace would not have to do therewith, and that there would no kirkmen be answered, neither of their places nor their rents, unless they subscribed the Articles of the new religion, as they have set it forward." "John Willock, he adds in a postscript, "is made Bishop of Glasgow now, in your Lordship's absence, and placed in your Lordship's Place of Glasgow."

By this letter, says Keith, "we have discovered more than we otherwise should have known of the hardships and injustice imposed upon the clergy, contrary to the plain Articles of the late agreement. There was so much contrivance, shifting and shuffling, and at last downright denial, unless the Kirkmen would subscribe the Articles of the new Religion, that I wonder not that Knox and Buchanan have taken care not to say one word of this matter in all their History of the Reformation; for indeed it might have cost them all their skill, great as it was, to have varnished over this dirty job with any tolerable appearance of equity."<sup>1</sup>

The Reformers, whose only desire was "freedom and liberty of conscience," now set to work with a will to attain this desirable end. At the first General Assembly in the following December, it was decided that "the Kirk of

<sup>1</sup> Keith, *Church and State in Scotland*. Book III, *Introduction* p. 490.



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Restalrig be razed and utterly destroyed, being a monument of idolatry, and that "earnest supplication be made to the Estates in Parliament that none be put in official office as Magistrates, Lords of the Session, Sheriffs, Stewards, Baillies or other judges, ordinary, but those who were professors of the Reformed Religion."<sup>1</sup>

In May it was decided "to desire the said Estates of Parliament and Lords of the Secret Council to inflict sharp punishment upon persons whose names were presented to them, and other idolaters and maintainers of idolatry, in contempt of God, His true religion, and Acts of Parliament, who say, and cause Mass to be said and are present thereat. A detailed list of Catholics follows, at the head of which appear the names of the Earl of Cassilis and the Abbot of Crossraguel."<sup>2</sup> This "humble supplication," according to Knox, was couched, in the following terms :—

"The pestilent generation of that Roman Antichrist would of new erect their idolatry, and before the tyrants and dumb dogs empire above us, and above such as God has subjected unto us, we, the barons and gentlemen professing Christ Jesus within this realm, are fully determined to hazard our lives and whatsoever we have received of God in temporal things. We most humbly

<sup>1</sup> Keith, *Church and State in Scotland*. Book III, Chap. I p. 497. *Records of General Assembly*.

<sup>2</sup> Knox. *History*. Keith, p. 502.

therefore beseech your honours that such order be taken that we have not occasion to take again the sword of just defence into our hands, to the end that God's Evangel may be publicly preached, the true preachers thereof reasonably sustained, Idolatry suppressed, and the committers thereof punished according to the Law of God and Man." This Supplication being approved by the Lords, an Act was passed "for demolishing all the abbeys of Monks and Friars and for suppressing all other monuments of idolatry still left in the realm."<sup>1</sup>

"Hereupon," writes Spottiswood, "ensued a pitiful devastation of Churches and Church buildings, throughout all the parts of the realm. They rifled all churches indifferently, making spoil of everything they found. The vessels appointed for service of the Church and whatsoever else made for decoration of the same, was taken away and applied to profane uses. The buildings of the Church defaced, timber, lead, bells, put to sale, the very sepulchres of the dead violated. Bibliotheks destroyed, the volumes of the Fathers, Councils, and other books of humane learning, with the Registers of the Church, consumed with fire. In short all was ruined, and what had escaped at the time of the first tumult did now undergo the common calamity."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Keith. *Book* III, Chap. I p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> *Spottiswood, M.S. Hist.* (quoted by Keith) p. 503.

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“Thus gat Satan the second fall,” writes Knox jubilantly, “and thus God so potently wrought with us, that all the world might see His potent Hand, to maintain us and fight against our enemies. O that we should rightly consider the wondrous works of the Lord our God!”<sup>1</sup> Posterity has been considering them ever since, although failing, perhaps, to attribute them to the Deity.

Abbot Kennedy, meanwhile, in spite of the denunciations of the Reformers, had published a work in defence of the Mass, and having definitely stated the doctrines of the Church on the subject, declared his readiness to defend them against all who impugned them. It was, perhaps, on account of this that John Knox, in the early autumn of 1562, made a journey into Kyle and Galloway, and, acquainting the Abbot of his intention to dispute, required of him to make good his promise. The Reformer, confident of success, demanded that the discussion should be held in St. John's Kirk at Ayr. Kennedy, on the other hand, considering the excited state of the public mind, and the fact that Knox had brought with him a large following, wished to avoid a disturbance; he therefore suggested the house of the Provost, which was finally agreed upon as the place of meeting. Knox had written to the Abbot stating that he came “not for disputation, but to preach Jesus Christ Crucified.” “Praise be

<sup>1</sup> *Knox History, Book III.*



to God," replied Kennedy, "that was no new thing in this country ere ye were born. He is an evil judge that condemns ere he knows; it would have been time enough to have called the Articles in question blasphemous when ye had seen, read and sufficiently confuted them." It was quite true, he continued, that he had promised to make declaration of the said Articles, provided that there had been "no convocation of strangers whereby disturbance might ensue;" but Knox had come accompanied by five or six score of followers. "Where ye say," remarks the Abbot," that ye stand in the protection of the Almighty, so do all good Christian men as ye, but apparently ye put as little in God's Hands as ye may, that go accompanied in every place wherever ye go with such a multitude, whether it be for devotion, or protection, or tumultation, God knows, for I know not.

"When ye say that I have infected the ears of the simple and wounded the hearts of the godly, and spoken blasphemy in open audience, I marvel how ye forget yourself, chiding and railing in this manner, considering ye said a little before that ye did abhor all chiding and railing; but nature passes nurture with you. Wherefore I must bear with your babbling and barking, as do Princes, higher powers, magistrates and many hundreds better than I."

After some correspondence between the Abbot, Knox, and the Earl of Cassilis, whose powerful protection was a strong defence to Kennedy



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against the aggressions of the Reforming party, the disputation was agreed upon on nearly the same terms as the Abbot had originally proposed. The meeting took place in the house of the Provost at Maybole, forty persons on each side being present. The only account of the proceedings extant is that of Knox, printed in 1563, and now in the Auchinleck library. The conference lasted for three days, the Abbot founding his argument upon the Apostle St. Paul, who affirms that our Saviour is "a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedec." The main point of dispute was whether Melchisedec actually brought forth the bread and wine as a *sacrifice*—according to the interpretation of the Doctors and the Fathers of the Church—or not. No decision was arrived at, and the conference was brought to a close, partly by the indisposition of the abbot and partly on account of John Knox. "Because noble men here assembled" writes the latter, "were altogether destitute of provision both for horse and man, the said John humbly required the foresaid Lord that it would please him to go to Ayr, where that better easement might be had for all estates, which, because my Lord utterly refused, the said John desired that the said conference should be ended." A paper was put in, signed by the Abbot, stating that "at the conclusion of our reasoning, I gave John Knox an argument in writ, desiring him that he would justify his opinion by express testimony of Scripture, or any appearance thereof. Whereto

the said John required time to give answer, and the time might nowise serve for further reasoning, for sic causes as are comprehended in the said John Knox's writing. And as toward his desire of me to go to Ayr, truly it was the thing that I might not presently commodiously do.<sup>1</sup> But always I will compeer before the Queen's Grace and such as her Grace pleases to take to be auditors to defend the said Articles, and in special the Article concerning the Mass, as they are written, when and where it shall be her Grace's pleasure, so that the ability of my body will serve me, as I hope to God it shall, to Whom be praise, glory and honour for ever. Crossraguel."<sup>2</sup>

Knox now went to Ayr, where he had apparently a large following, a fact which may partly explain his desire that the conference should be transferred to that town. Here, on the third day of September, he "spirited up the people," says Keith, "to subscribe the following bond":

"We whose names are underwritten, do promise, in the Presence of God, and in presence of His Son Jesus Christ, that we, and every one of us, shall and will maintain and assist the Preaching of His Holy Evangell, now of His mercy offered unto this Realme. And also will

<sup>1</sup> The Abbot was in ill-health, and died two years later.

<sup>2</sup> The account of the conference and the letters quoted are given in full in *Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel*, edited by Hunter Blair, published by the Ayrshire and Galloway Arch. Ass.

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maintain the ministers of the same against all *persons, Power and authority*, that will oppose themselves to the Doctrine proposed, and by us received.<sup>1</sup> And further, with the same solemnity, we protest and promise, that every one of us shall assist the others, yea, and the whole body of the Protestants within this realme, in all lawful and just actions, against all persons, so that whoever shall molest, hurt or trouble any of our Body shall be reputed enemy to the whole, except that the offender will be content to submit himself to the Judgment of the Kirk now established amongst us. Eighty signatures follow, including those of the Earl of Glencairn and the Lord Ochiltree "With mony uther Gentilmen of Worth and Burgesses."<sup>2</sup>

In the written account of the dispute published by Knox in the following year he claims for himself all the honours, although he speaks of "the common bruit that Kennedy, his flatterers and collaterals brag greatly of their victory." Leslie who was not one of the main parties concerned, gives another account of the conference. "After three days of constant dispute," he says "Kennedy had so overthrown Knox, that pious and good men were strengthened, and even the Calvinists were angry with Knox, because he had not better defended Calvinism. Wherefore Knox,

<sup>1</sup>It would seem to have been just as well that Abbot Kennedy refused to adjourn the Conference to Ayr.

<sup>2</sup> Keith. Book III, Chap. II pp. 515, 516.

as he had been convicted of ignorance in argument, set about printing the disputation, interspersed with his own comments."

Abbot Kennedy died in 1564, at the age of forty-four. He did not live to see the grinding persecution that for a hundred years was to continue unrelentingly, until "mob violence, oppression by Protestant landlords, Kirk censure, imprisonment, fine and exile, did their work in suppressing idolatry and promoting hypocrisy."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Lang. *John Knox and the Reformation.*



## CHAPTER V

### NINIAN WINZET

"A man of courage and constancy, who dared to face Knox himself, putting questions which the Reformer did not answer.—Andrew Lang. *Hist. of Scot.* II 89.

"He illustrated in himself the prestige and honour which the Scottish Catholic clergy had in their best days of missionary spirit and learning."—J. K. Hewison, *Introd. to Certain Tractates*, Scottish Text Soc.

"In December, 1560, died the young King of France, husband to our Jezebel," says Knox in his *Historie of the Reformation*. By long watching with her young husband during his sickness, and painful diligence about him, wrote Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, English ambassador in France, to his mistress, Queen Elizabeth, the eighteen year old "Jezebel" had seriously impaired her health.<sup>1</sup> The report of this astute politician as to Mary's views on the subject of religion as well as his estimate of her character and behaviour are interesting. "I will be plain with you," she said to him at one of their inter-

<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Orleans Dec. 6th 1560. *State Papers*.

views, "the religion which I profess, I take to be the most acceptable to God, and neither do I know, nor desire to know any other. Constancy doth become all folks well, but none better than princes and such as have rule over realms, and especially in matters of religion. And who might credit me in anything, if I should show myself light in this case? And though I be young, and not well learned, yet I have heard the matter oft disputed by my uncle, my Lord Cardinal, with some that thought they could say somewhat in the matter, and I found therein no great reason to change my opinion." "For my part," she replied to Throckmorton's suggestion that "some good order" might be taken in the matter, "you may perceive that I am none of those that will change my religion every year, and, as I told you in the beginning, I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but could wish they were all as I am; and I trust they shall have no support to constrain me."<sup>1</sup>

"Since her husband's death," reports the watchful ambassador, to the Privy Council of England, "she hath shown, and so continueth, that she is both of great wisdom for her years, modesty, and also of great judgement in the wise handling of herself and her matters, which, increasing in her with years, cannot but turn to her commendation, reputation and honour, and be

<sup>1</sup>Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Paris, June 23rd 1561.  
*State Papers.*

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of great benefit to her and her country. Assuredly she carries herself so honourably, advisedly and discreetly that one cannot but fear her progress.”

It is possible that in his praise of Mary Stuart's modesty and discretion Throckmorton was endeavouring to convey a hint to his own mistress, the “divine Eliza,” as to whose conduct “reports were very strange.” In the October of 1560 he had written to the Marquis of Northampton that he wished he were “either dead or out of France,” that he might not hear “the dishonourable and naughty reports that are made of the Queen, which every hair of my head stareth at, and my ears glow to hear.” Some people he declares, were openly asking: “what religion is this, that a subject can kill his wife, and the Prince not only bear withal but marry with him.”<sup>2</sup>

The reports of the favourable impression created by the wisdom and dignity of the girl-queen of Scotland, together with the rumour that she meant shortly to return to her own country, caused serious alarm to the Reforming party. “Those that gave themselves out for Protestants,” Lethington had written a few months earlier to Cecil, “be not all alike earnestly bent to maintain it. So long as her Highness is absent, there is

<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Privy Council Dec. 31, 1560, and to Cecil the same day. *State Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. 683, 10th Oct. 1560. The allusion, of course, is to the murder of Amy Robsart.

no peril, but you may judge what the presence of a prince, being craftily counselled, is able to bring to pass.”<sup>1</sup>

“My opinion,” wrote Cecil to Randolph, in June, 1561, “is that it shall do much hurt in Scotland if the Queen should come hither *before things be better established*.”<sup>2</sup>

Early in 1561, the Estates having met to discuss the question of Mary's return, it was decided that a deputation should be sent to inform her that, if she brought no French forces with her, and was ready to “repose her whole confidence upon her subjects,” she would be warmly welcomed. The Lord James, who had been chosen as envoy and who had undertaken to “grope the Queen's mind,” was to pass through London on his way to France, ostensibly to ask for a passport, but secretly to make Elizabeth “participant as well of that he hath in charge as what he mindeth to do.”<sup>3</sup> Trustful and frank by nature, Mary received her half-brother affectionately, accepted his protestations of loyalty, and believed his assurance that he had not come with any public commission, but moved only by his affection and

<sup>1</sup> “Though, with the help of England,” says Professor Hume Brown (*Hist. of Scotland*, II, 77) “Protestantism had triumphed in the late trial of strength, the great majority in the country—nobles, barons, and commons—were still on the side of the old religion.”

<sup>2</sup> *Harl. MS. 6990, Art. 6.*

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers* Feb. 6th, 1560. 1. Lethington to Cecil.



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his anxiety to offer her his services.<sup>1</sup> He dissuaded her from an immediate return, on account of the unsettled state of affairs in Scotland suggesting that it would be a good thing, meanwhile, to appoint someone whom she could trust to govern the country during her absence.

To this broad hint Mary replied by a promise to entrust him with the management of affairs until her arrival. She then spoke freely to him of her determination not to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh without due consideration, her hope of dissolving the league between England and Scotland, and her intention of returning to that country directly by sea.<sup>2</sup>

On leaving the Queen the Lord James went secretly to the English ambassador, and revealed to him everything that Mary had said. It may be that some rumour of this reached the Queen's ears, for the commission which was to empower her brother to take charge of the kingdom until her home-coming, and which was to have been sent after him, never arrived. Apprehensive that something had occurred to make Mary suspect his honesty, and fearing that she might return to Scotland at once, the Lord James now hastened to London to take counsel of Elizabeth. It was agreed between them that

<sup>1</sup> Fraser Tytler. *Hist of Scotland*, VI, 217.

<sup>2</sup> For the evidence of his treachery, see Tytler VI, 221, and Throckmorton's letter to Elizabeth in State Paper Office. 29th April, 1561.

English ships of war, under the old pretence of searching for pirates, should intercept the Scottish Queen on her way home.<sup>1</sup> As a pretext for refusing the passport to travel through England which Mary had courteously asked of Elizabeth, Throckmorton was instructed to make known to her his mistress's displeasure at her continual refusal to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh.

To this Mary replied with spirit that she had succeeded in reaching France in spite of all the efforts of Henry VIII to prevent her from doing so, and that she hoped to be able to return in the same way. "I trust the wind will be so favourable that I shall not need to come on the coast of England," she said with quiet dignity, "and if I do, then, M. l'Ambassadeur, the Queen, your mistress, shall have me in her hands to do her will of me. If she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure and make sacrifice of me. Peradventure that casualty might be better for me than to live, but in this matter God's will shall be fulfilled."<sup>2</sup> Read in the light of later events, these words of the young Queen seem strangely prophetic.

Mary returned to Scotland in the August of 1561. The armed cruisers of England were on

<sup>1</sup>The Lord James told the English Queen that, if she had any regard either for the interests of religion or her own safety, she ought to intercept his sister during her homeward voyage. Camden. *Hist. of Elizabeth*.

<sup>2</sup>Throckmorton to Elizabeth, July 26th, *State Papers*. Keith. Tytler.

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the watch, but, owing to a thick fog, the passag was effected in safety. There is a pathetic touch in Spottiswood's description of the Queen's arrival, which gives a pleasanter impression of the mentality of her subjects than Knox's *Historie* or Lethington's letters.

"When they called to mind," he says, "the variableness of fortune, how she, left a pupil of six days old by the death of her father, was exposed as a prey to those that were most mighty, and, partly by civil seditions at home, partly by the invasion of external enemies from abroad, was forced to forsake her country, hardly escaping the hands of enemies that lay in wait to intercept her. And again, when fortune began to smile a little upon her and she was honoured by a royal marriage, how these joys on the sudden came to be changed into extreme sorrow, being first deprived of her mother, then of her husband; a new kingdom lost and her ancient crown which belonged to her by inheritance, standing in a state very uncertain. When they considered all this and together with the excellencies that nature had bestowed upon her, the beauty and comeliness of her person, her mild inclination and gracious demeanour towards all sorts of people, it cannot be told what joy and love this begat in the hearts of all her subjects."<sup>1</sup>

"The beginning of her government was very gracious," he continues, "for, some days after

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*. Lib. IV, 179.



her arriving, in a Council kept with the nobility to remove the occasions of trouble, she condescended that no change nor alteration should be made in the present state of religion; only she would use her own service, as she said, apart with her own family, and have a Mass in private. This was thought by many, a thing not intolerable, considering she was the Sovereign Princess of the Realm and educated from her youth in the Roman Faith; yet the preachers in their sermons did publicly condemn the toleration as unlawful.”<sup>1</sup>

A few days after her arrival Mary sent for Knox, and having pointed out to him how much mischief his book the “*Monstrous Regiment of Women*,” was likely to do by inciting subjects to rebellion against their rightful rulers, urged him to use more charity in his dealings with those who differed from him in religion. Knox, who gives the interview in full in his history, insulted the Queen by declaring that her Faith was idolatry and her Church a harlot, to which remark Mary courteously replied that she held her Church to be the true Church of God. The quiet dignity with which this girl of nineteen met Knox’s violent attacks on all that she held most sacred, shows wonderful strength and self-control. “She is patient to bear, and beareth much,” wrote Randolph to Cecil.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Spottiswood. *History of the Church*.

<sup>2</sup> Lethington, writing to Cecil, deprecates Knox’s rudeness. “Surely in her comporting with him,” he says, “she doth declare a wisdom far exceeding her years.”



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Having modestly declared that he was as content to live under her rule as was St. Paul under that of Nero, Knox signified his desire to hold a disputation in the Queen's presence, "with the most learned Papists in Europe," to which Mary replied that he might perhaps be indulged in that wish sooner than he expected. She was probably aware of the intention of her chaplain, René Benoist, to challenge the Reformers to defend their position, which he did a few weeks later, in an epistle which was a model of courtesy.<sup>1</sup> Little is known of the controversies that resulted. In the catalogue of Queen Mary's library in 1578 there are two pamphlets by Benoist: "*The maner to take away the contraversie of religion*," and "*The triumphe of Faith*" written respectively in 1561 and 1562 and dated from the Scottish court.<sup>2</sup> The only reply extant to Benoist's challenge is a little tract by Fergusson, minister of Dunfermline, addressed to the "impudent and shameless shavelings, the chaplains of Baal that eat at Jezebel's table," and drawing a parallel between Benoist and an "idolatrous priest of Bethel."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Lang. *John Knox and the Reformation* p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Hewison. *Introduction to Certane Tractates*. Scottish Text Society.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Lang. *John Knox and the Reformation*, 199. J. K. Hewison. *Introduction to Certane Tractates*, S. T. S.

Benoist returned to France shortly afterwards. "Was he the priest?" asks Andrew Lang, "whom the brethren menaced and occasionally assaulted?" (*John Knox and the*

It was another and a stronger hand that snatched up the gauntlet thrown down by Knox on the publication of the Book of Discipline. "If any man will note in this our Confession," ran the challenge, "any article or sentence repugning to God's holy word, may it please him, for Christian charity's sake to admonish us of the same in writing, and we of our honour and fidelity do promise unto him satisfaction from the mouth of God, that is holy Scriptures, or else reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss."

Ninian Winzet, a secular priest and erstwhile master of Linlithgow school, now proceeded to carry out to the letter the programme of criticism, suggested, with such apparent good faith, by the Reformer. Of Winzet's early history we know little, save what he himself tells us. Appointed master of the grammar school of Linlithgow in 1551, at the age of thirty four, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to his profession. "I judged the teaching of virtue and science to the young," he says<sup>1</sup> "to hold the third place after

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*Reformation*, 199). When the Queen was in Stirling, wrote Randolph to Cecil, on the occasion of Mass being said there, "some, both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears." Sept. 24th, 1561. (Keith. *Church and State in Scotland*.) On October 2nd in the same year, the Protestant magistrates of Edinburgh, urged thereunto by the preachers, issued a proclamation classing all priests and religious with notorious criminals and ordering "all such filthy persons" to leave the city. Mary deposed the magistrates.

<sup>1</sup> *Certane Tractates*. Scottish Text Society. Edited J. Hewison. Vol. I. p. 23.

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legal authority and the angelical office of godly pastors, and most commodious and necessary to the Church of God. Yea, so necessary did I think it, that the charge and office of the prince and prelate without it is, in my judgment, wondrous painful and almost insupportable, and little commodious to the commonwealth and to unfeigned obedience and true godliness, when the people are rude and ignorant, whereas, by the help of it, the office of all potentates becomes light to them and pleasant to their subjects."

Winzet was first "movit to write," he tells us, in 1559, during the destruction of the churches and monasteries. Leslie and Conn assert that he met Knox, Kinlochy and Spottiswood in a public disputation,<sup>1</sup> which may have taken place when Knox was in Linlithgow "reforming" the beautiful old buildings in the city. The result of the conference, says Leslie, was to give fresh hope and courage to the Catholics. It seems incidentally to have given a good deal of annoyance to the Reformers, for it was at the instance of Kinlochy and Spottiswood that Winzet was "expellit and schott" out of his "kindly town" for refusing to subscribe the Confession of Faith.<sup>2</sup> "I thought that I had no cause to be ashamed,"

<sup>1</sup> Robert Maxwell, like Winzet a secular priest and schoolmaster, was disputing at the same time with Willock in Glasgow. Leslie, *Hist. of Scotland*. Scottish Text Soc. Part IV, pp. 464, 465.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 49.



he says, when driven thus out of home and profession, "but to rejoice and glorify my God for that I suffered, not as a wicked person or an evil-doer, but as an unfeigned and faithful Christian."

Mary Stuart had returned to Scotland and had published her *Edict of Toleration*; Mass was being said once more in the desecrated chapel of Holyrood, where the soldiers of the Reformers had stabled their horses by the rifled tombs of kings; René Benoist was challenging the preachers; Quintin Kennedy, "My Lord of Croceraguel," was writing his Oration in defence of the Mass. Winzet went to Edinburgh, where he soon became famous as an able polemical writer and a sturdy champion of the doctrines and discipline of the Catholic Church. On the 15th of February, 1561-2, he addressed a letter to the Queen, craving permission to propound certain questions to the Reformers, and a week later launched a tractate at Knox challenging the lawfulness of his calling. Lawful ministers, he contends, are either called directly by God, in which case their call is vouched for by the power of the Spirit or by miracles, or they are called by men who have lawful power to ordain others.<sup>2</sup>

Where are Knox's "marvels wrought by the Spirit?" he asks, for "the stirring up of realms to ungodly sedition and discord" he cannot hold

<sup>1</sup> *Certane Tractates. Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions. Preface, To the Christian Reader*, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid. The Second Tractate*, p. 15.



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to be such. On the other hand, if his call was from men, had they lawful power to ordain him?<sup>1</sup>

Knox returned no written answer to these questions, as Winzet had requested him to do, but contented himself with discussing them in the pulpit. On March 3rd, Winzet sent him a letter, courteously addressed to "John Knox, a man of singular learning and eloquence." He had asked of him an answer in writing, he says, and Knox had preached a sermon. He had, moreover, made some statements in Winzet's name, "not so sincerely as he had proposed them, nor with the same meaning." "Farewell in Christ," he ends, "and endeavour to let truth prevail and not the individual man.—Ninian Winzet, at the desire of his afflicted brethren."<sup>2</sup>

Knox now attempted to justify his vocation by urging the example of St. John the Baptist and the prophet Amos.

St. John the Baptist, replied Winzet in another letter on the 10th of March, had the authority of God's Word, and signs were shown by God that he was sent by Him. The prophet Amos was also sent by God, as the Scriptures prove, and visible signs gave testimony of the fact; all that he prophesied came to pass. Amos, moreover, did not usurp the authority of the High

<sup>1</sup> *Certane Tractates*, I, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 18.

Priest at Jerusalem, "as ye do at present of the Primate of Scotland in Edinburgh." Knox is reminded of the terrible punishment of Core, Dathan, and Abiron, who maintained that "all the multitude consisted of holy ones, and the Lord was among them," just as the Reformers quoted in their own favour the words of Scripture: "He hath made us kings and priests to God and His Father." If these words made Knox a lawful minister, by the same token he might claim to be King of Scotland. Not unnecessarily does Winzet remind his antagonist that "the wisdom that is from above is chaste, peaceable, modest, easy to be persuaded," and that "the servant of the Lord must not wrangle, but be mild towards all men, apt to teach, patient."

"Since we have alleged nothing in our writings," he protests, "but the express Word of God, sincerely and without attempt to wrest, cloak or gloss its meaning, sundry are offended at your terrible exclamation against us: "ye generation of vipers!"<sup>1</sup> If Knox cannot bring forward some stronger testimony to his assertion that he was directly called by God than he has already done, let him prove himself to have been lawfully called by men with competent power, otherwise even his own scholars will think that "one mistuned string spoils all your harmony." "May the Lord of peace give you His peace and charity," concludes Winzet, "and to us as well,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, 20.

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with the mind to will that truth may win the victory.”<sup>1</sup>

Two days later he returns to the charge. “Waste wind” again. He had asked for a written reply and again had received no answer but a sermon.

Knox’s explanation of his call, he asserts, has not proved satisfactory, even to “the most learned scholars” of his own party. “In the Name of the Lord Jesus and in the power of His most mighty spirit,” let him make demonstration to “the people and to us” of his lawful ministry. If he is unable to do this, let him desist from the usurpation of another man’s office until he be lawfully called thereto.

“That you may know that we speak unfeignedly and sincerely of conscience,” he concludes, “we pray the Omnipotent to be merciful to us all, and to stop and close the mouth of you or us, whichever speaks iniquity in double mind.”<sup>2</sup> This letter also was unanswered.

The third *Tractate*, dated March 31st, was addressed to the magistrates of Edinburgh who, on the plea of idolatry, had endeavoured to prevent the Catholics in the city from keeping the Feast of Easter. Remembering, says Winzet, how Solon, the law-giver of Athens, had

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Certain Tractates*, I. 22.



denounced as cowards all who skulked at home on the occasion of a public tumult, he had feared to be branded as a lukewarm soldier of Christ, had he kept silence at such a moment. Having begun by praying for peace among "all who professed our Lord Jesus," he writes, he had proceeded to study in the writings of the Fathers the grounds on which the Church based her celebration of the great feasts of the liturgical year. He had found in them the most clear testimony that the universal Church has been of one mind in this matter since the days of our Saviour, and consequently had begun to marvel at the "arrogant temerity of your holy prophet, John Knox," who commanded that these solemnities were to be abolished as papistry—that is, idolatry and superstition, contrary to God's law. The keeping of Easter rests on the tradition of the Church. Knox denounces it as idolatry. Why then does he keep the Sunday, which rests on the same tradition? O madman and most foolish! Would he persuade a faithful Christian that the universal Church is more ungrateful and less mindful of the birth of her Spouse and King, the Son of God, than any realm of its temporal king, whose birthday no one forgets? He exhorts the magistrates not to be of the number of that wicked generation rebuked by the prophet, who said in their heart: "let us make all the festival days of the Lord to cease out of the earth," and appeals to them to induce Knox and Spottiswood to answer these



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questions in writing, for as yet no answer has been given but "waste wind."<sup>1</sup>

Either the magistrates did not attempt to induce Knox to reply to Winzet's questions or their inducements were without effect, for the written answer was not forthcoming. Two months later the three *Tractates*, together with Winzet's letters to Knox, were published by John Scot, printer in St Andrews and Edinburgh.<sup>2</sup>

When the brethren did condescend to answer Winzet's questions—in a somewhat unexpected manner—John Scot was to find himself rather closely involved in the transaction, but that was not until two months later. In the *First Tractate*, addressed to the Queen, her Pastors and nobility, Winzet holds up the mirror before his countrymen with no uncertain hand. The lives of the bishops, so scandalously at variance with the teaching and laws of the Church to which they belonged, the greed and rapacity of the nobles, largely to blame for this condition of things, and the apathy and indifference of laymen, are denounced in burning words. "Since all men have this word 'reformation' in mouth, wishing to reform others," he concludes, "let them remember that there is one person that every man has just occasion to reform, and that is himself."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Certane Tractates*. I. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Certane Tractates*. Introduction p. lxxix.

<sup>3</sup> *Certane Tractates*, I 13.

The undaunted Winzet now sent to Knox a manuscript copy of his *Buke of Fourscore Three Questions*, which had already been privately circulated in the capital and was much esteemed by his friends.<sup>1</sup> It was a direct answer to Knox's request that "if any man should note in this, our Confession, any article or sentence repugning to God's holy Word," he would "for charity's sake admonish us of the same in writing," pledging himself "of our honour and fidelity," to give him satisfaction from the Scriptures or reformation of what was amiss.

Of this offer, says Winzet, he now avails himself boldly, not thinking to give offence thereby, and expecting a written answer as promised. If he should happen to object against Knox anything of which he is innocent, he begs him "of his modestie" to purge himself thereof, imputing the error either to his "imbecillitie in judgement, not having thoroughly understood your doctrine, or, if it please you, our ignorance."

Since the Holy Catholic Church is the pillar and ground of the truth, having true understanding of the sincere Word of God, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, according to our Saviour's promise, are we to believe the judgement of this Church as asserted by the Martyrs, Doctors, and Confessors together with General Councils, or John Calvin and his associates in these our days?

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* Introduction, xxxviii,

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Since all heresies had a leader and an inventor, and an arch-heretic to preach them, and you call us heretics, why do you not show what heresy we follow?

As we promise to hold to not one jot in religion that is not either expressed in Scripture, approved by General Councils, or by the most learned Fathers, Greek and Latin, why, since you condemn us, do you not also condemn the Scriptures, the ancient Doctors and the Councils?

Why do you take away the true meaning of the article of the Creed: "He descended into hell," and substitute for it Calvin's private opinion that these words refer to the anguish Christ suffered?

Why do you maintain that faith cannot exist without charity when St. Paul plainly distinguishes between the two, saying: "If I had all faith so that I could remove mountains and have not charity, I am nothing."

What authority have you from the Scriptures for saying that there are but two Sacraments, when your Master, Calvin, says that there are three, Melancthon and others four, others five, and some six? For that you have neither Scripture nor the common consent of Protestants.

Why, since you affirm with Calvin that baptism is necessary, do you refuse to baptise children unless brought on your specially appointed days? And if the children die without baptism through your fault, why do you hold yourselves blameless?



Why, since you condemn all ceremonies not mentioned in holy Scripture, do you baptise in a church and not out in the fields, in rivers or streams, as did St. John the Baptist, Philip, and the other apostles?

Why do you cover your table with a white cloth at Communion and why, since you do nothing without warrant from Scripture, do you make your Communion before dinner when our Lord instituted His holy Sacrament after supper?

Why do you affirm that the Sacrament of our Lord's Body remains bread and wine, when our Saviour expressly said: "This is My Body, this is My Blood," and St. Paul, exposing the same, writes that the man who eats thereof unworthily eats his own damnation, not discerning the Body of the Lord?

Why do you refuse to call the celebration and sanctifying of the Lord's Body a sacrifice and oblation, when the Prophet Malachi speaks of it as "the offering of a clean oblation to be offered in all places" as the ancient Doctors assert?

Why do you not administer this Sacrament to the sick, as was decreed by the canons of the primitive Church in the time of the glorious martyrs?

If you deny Christ to be adored in the Sacrament, why do you not condemn as heretics St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom, and others of their time, who earnestly accuse us of sin if we adore not Christ's most holy Body in the Sacrament?

Why, when our Sovereign lady has shown such



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humility, gentleness and wisdom as might soften the heart of any true Scot, do you exhort her subjects so fervently to rebellion against her, unless she leaves her belief in the Sacraments of the Catholic Church universally accepted, which she loves, and turns to the doctrine of Calvin?

Since priests of the Church should come to the sick, anoint them with oil and pray for them, as our Saviour teaches to be His godly will by the mouth of St. James, why do you put it out of the use of Christians and not deprive it only of the name of a Sacrament?

Are vestments, chalices and other ornaments in the Church idolatrous or not? If not so, why do you call them so, and destroy part of them in testimony of your doctrine? If they are really polluted in idolatry, why keep the best part of them unburnt? How about Saul and Agag? How is it that gold and silver chalices, velvet, silk, bells and brass which are precious were not destroyed?

Since St. Augustine affirms that it would be most insolent madness to question the yearly celebration of Easter, the Feast of the Ascension, the coming of the Holy Ghost, etc., why have you abolished the solemn keeping of these festivals?

How is it that you sing at the end of every psalm "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost," etc., when this godly form was commanded to be sung by Pope Damasus in rebuke of heretics?

If you understand by the second Commandment that no image or similitude of anything is to be made, why do you allow without reproof noblemen and gentlemen of your Congregation to have images and figures of beasts and such like in their coats of arms? And why do you yourselves keep in your pockets gold and silver stamped with images and figures? If, on the other hand, you say that they may be made, but must not be put in the temple of God, how about Solomon and the images of cherubim, angels, etc., which he placed in the Temple? How can the images of Christ crucified and those of His saints and holy martyrs be called idolatry?

How is the invoking of the saints idolatry? As all the members of Christ's mystical Body, the Church, pray to our heavenly Father for the health and prosperity of others, so do the saints and angels in Heaven pray for us on earth in this battle. Why are not Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Basil, and many others who held this doctrine idolaters? You say that the saints hear us not. Did not Christ Himself say that the angels are glad for one sinner converted, and does he not say that the saints shall be like to angels? Have the saints less knowledge than devils, whom you grant to know our doings?

Since fasting was practised by Moses, Elias, St. John the Baptist and our Saviour, how is the Church idolatrous for keeping the yearly fast of Lent and other days?

Winzet ends his *Buke*, of which this is a mere

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abstract, with his usual Christian courtesy. "Hoping in the ineffable mercy of God to you and to us, we shall not desist to pray day and night with humble minds to our heavenly Father, that, for the merits of Jesus Christ, our Saviour, He would so illuminate your hearts with the spirit of humility, soberness and truth, that you neither think before God, nor answer us arrogantly, in strife and dissension, but only before God and of God, and in Christ, according to His glory and immutable Will, to the godly peace and unity of all who unfeignedly love Jesus."<sup>1</sup>

"There can be no doubt," says the learned editor of Winzet's writings,<sup>2</sup> "that the circulation of the *Tractates* and the *Buke of Questions* created no ordinary impression, on account of their opportuneness and of their intrinsic merits. Their frank admissions gave them weight in the minds of those as yet of undecided opinions. They rallied the friends of the old Faith and irritated the Reformed preachers." "It must be confessed," says Lawson in his edition of Keith's History, "that Winzet has completely the advantage of his opponents in most things that he charges them with."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Certain Tractates*, I, 137.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Introduction, xxxvii. Catholics owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. King Hewison, minister of Rothesay, for the scholarly erudition with which he has edited Winzet's works, and the wide-minded sympathy with which he has told the story of Winzet's life.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. III, p. 503.



This may have been the reason why the *Buke*, like the *Tractates*, remained unanswered. The persevering Winzet now set to work at another Tractate: *The last Blast of the Trompet*, which he addressed to "the Congregation of Protestants in Scotland."

"We have kept silence, honourable and dearly beloved," he begins, "since the twelfth of March, waiting for John Knox's answer to our last writing according to his promise made in the pulpit. But as he neither fulfils it nor desists from usurping a high office to which he cannot show himself to have been lawfully called, we pray and beseech you to read, consider and judge sincerely our questions and answers made to him."<sup>1</sup>

He reminds them of the judgment of God on Core, on Osias, and on Saul for having usurped the priestly office, and asks when it was ever heard in the holy Catholic Church since the time of Christ, that bishops, priests or deacons were ordained by laymen.<sup>2</sup> "And if it be argued that in our days, when princes take upon themselves the office of election, and present what persons they please to Church benefices, the clergy are ignorant and vicious, or both, and unworthy the

<sup>1</sup> *Certane Tractates* I, 39.

<sup>2</sup> The reader will remember the circumstances under which Knox received his call in the Castle of St. Andrews, from the murderers of Cardinal Beton. He did not like to be questioned on this matter.



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name of pastors, (alas, we are right sorry that this for the most part is true,) there is another remedy than to heap sin upon sin. And that is to turn from our idolatrous and insatiable avarice, our proud and fearless presumption, from the vain babbling of God's Word without fear or reverence, from feigned hypocrisy of holiness, from ingratitude and other devilish vices to our most merciful God, and to the serving of Him in holy fear and brotherly love."<sup>1</sup>

The Tractate breaks off suddenly in the middle of a line, for it was never finished. The answer, though in an unexpected form, had come at last.

Leslie gives a vivid description of the scene.<sup>2</sup> Winzet, he says, had aroused, by his persistence, the hatred of the Reformers. Hearing that he was busy with another book, in which he accused Knox to the nobility of having broken his promise, hoping thereby to compel an answer, they consulted together as to how they might put a stop to the business. On the 31st of July, 1562, the magistrates of the city, together with a troop of soldiers, raided the premises of John Scot, the printer, seized upon all the unfinished copies of the book, confiscated Scot's goods, and clapped him into prison. Their chief aim, however, the apprehending of Winzet, was strangely defeated,

<sup>1</sup> *Certane Tractates* I, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Leslie. *Hist. of Scotland* Part IV, p. 468. Scottish Text Society.

for coming out of the house as they reached the door, and being personally unknown to them, he succeeded in slipping past them and making his escape. A ship was hovering about the coast, waiting for Nicholas de Gouda, the Papal Legate, who was in the country at the risk of his life, and whom Knox was denouncing in the pulpit as "the emissary of the devil, sent by Baal and Beelzebub himself." In it the two men made the passage to Antwerp, where they landed a few days later.

Defeated, but resolute as ever, Winzet now busied himself with the printing of the *Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions*, hitherto circulated in manuscript, prefacing it with an "address to the Christian Reader," in which he sketches his own career and the tribulations of the times. If Knox does not mean to keep his promise, he declares, his faith in God and that of his followers may be measured by the faith they keep with men.

"A theologian," he says, "I confess me to be none, nor yet of the number of the greatly learned; yet, not to confess myself to be a faithful Christian, especially when, having been banished from my tender friends, I am almost compelled thereto, I am afraid before God and ashamed before men and angels. May the goodness of God strengthen me in my present intention, which is not to be so feeble or afraid of any temporal trouble or tyranny of men as to be a temporizer against my conscience in God's

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cause.<sup>1</sup> The book concludes with a postscript addressed to John Knox. "It appears to me, Brother, that there is some very great impediment in the way of your answering my writings, after so long deliberation. If you realise that you are in the wrong, why delay your conversion? If my handwriting has not been so legible as you would like, please accept the same matter in a more readable form. The bearer, a disciple of your own, boldly affirms that since Christ suffered for men no man has gone to hell. Unable to convince him of the contrary, I said to him what I now say to you. "If John Knox's doctrine be true, and everything that he condemns by the name of Papistry be damnable, and everything idolatry and superstition which he asserts to be such, then all the Martyrs of Christ, with the ancient Doctors who wrote a thousand years ago, together with all our elders in Scotland, are already in hell."<sup>2</sup>

"Och ! for mair paper or mair pennies ! " ends this impecunious but indefatigable champion of the old Faith.

In the December of the same year, 1563, Winzet published a translation, "conforme to our auld brade Scottis," of the famous Commentary of St. Vincent of Lerins,<sup>3</sup> the sole

<sup>1</sup> *Certane Tractates* I 137.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* 138.

<sup>3</sup> A monk of the monastery of Lerins, who wrote a treatise in the fifth century proving the antiquity and universality of the Catholic Faith against all heresies.



surviving fragment of a series of translations of *Tractates written by ancient Fathers many years ago*, in defence of the Catholic Faith against heresy. It is prefaced by a letter to Queen Mary, to whom the work is dedicated. "If the Reformers can prove their doctrines," he says, "to have been universally received by all true Christians at all times and in all places, we others shall be compelled to confess them to be the true Catholics and ourselves to have erred." But, as they cannot do that, and yet would be held to be sons of the holy Catholic Church, it follows that they should leave "their own fantasy" to join those who can prove that their doctrine is able to stand this test.<sup>1</sup>

The need of "mair pennies" was now making itself uncomfortably felt. During his stay in Edinburgh, Winzet had evidently held some appointment about the court which had provided him with a small income. In a letter written by Mary Stuart during her imprisonment in England she refers to him as "my confessor," but the absence of his name in the list of her personal attendants at the time, as well as the fact that the ministrations of a priest were denied to her, point to the probability that he had occupied the position at an earlier period. It is not unlikely that Winzet may have succeeded René Benoist as the Queen's chaplain at Holyrood, on the return of the latter to France in 1562. That his

<sup>1</sup> *Certain Tractates*, Vol. II, p. 8.



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banishment left him without means of subsistence is evident from a letter of de Gouda to James Laynez, General of the Society of Jesus, in which he refers to Winzet as "of slender means and unable to support himself, though a man of learning and piety." "He has published works against the doctrines of the arch-heretic in Scotland," he adds, "who is greatly incensed against him." Archbishop Beton,<sup>1</sup> Mary's ambassador in France, and the friend and patron of every exiled Scotsman, now came to Winzet's assistance. Through his influence a post was obtained for him in the University of Paris, where he taught for some time in company with several other distinguished Scotsmen, like himself in exile for the Faith<sup>2</sup>. In the September of 1567 he was elected Proctor of his nation, which says as much for his efficiency as for his popularity, for it was a greatly coveted dignity.

In 1570, however, he left his professorship at the Sorbonne, being called by Queen Mary to come to her at Sheffield, where she was a prisoner, and was shortly afterwards sent to join Bishop Leslie, her ambassador in London. During Leslie's quasi-imprisonment in the country-house of the Bishop of Ely, the two Scotsmen set

<sup>1</sup> Nephew of the Cardinal.

<sup>2</sup> Adam Blackwood, John Stuart, and John Dempster, all champions of the old Faith and of Scotland's Queen, with James Laing, Thomas Winterhope, and others, were teaching at the same time at the University.

themselves assiduously to the study of Hebrew and the sacred Scriptures. The library of the Bishop of Ely proving inadequate to their needs, we find Winzet, with characteristic energy, dashing off to Cambridge to procure the necessary books and documents. When, in the October of 1571, on the pretext that he was plotting in favour of the Scottish Queen, Elizabeth imprisoned Bishop Leslie in the Tower, Winzet, who could be of no use to his royal mistress by remaining in London, returned to Paris, where he took up his interrupted work at the University. In 1572, and again in the following year, he was re-elected Proctor for his Nation.<sup>1</sup>

Although Winzet had been for ten years in exile, his influence still continued to make itself felt in his native land, and this to such an extent that, on the 12th of February, 1573, the Scottish Council thought it necessary to issue a proclamation against "divers of the born subjects of this realm, traitors, seditious, rebellious, and unquiet spirits, who, being fled, remain beyond sea, practising and stirring up traitorous and seditious rebellion, as well by their actions as by their letters and books." The list of names which follows includes those of Archbishop Beton, Bishop Leslie, Adam Blackwood, champion of Queen Mary, and last, but not least, "Sir Ninian Winzet." The edict goes on to forbid,

<sup>1</sup> *Certane Tractates*, I. *Introd.*

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under "pain of death and confiscation of goods," the delivery of any letters or books from those persons, unless they had been presented to and sanctioned by the Regent or the Council.<sup>1</sup>

In 1574 Winzet went to the new College founded in 1569 at Douay by Dr.—afterwards Cardinal—Allen for the education of young Englishmen for the priesthood. There, a year later, he obtained his Licentiate of Theology, returning in the October of 1575 to Paris, in order to be present at the September meeting of the Masters of his Nation.

Winzet's old and devoted friend, Bishop Leslie, was at this moment in Rome, whither he had been sent on a diplomatic mission by the Scottish Queen. Dr. Allen was there also, and it is probably owing to the warm recommendation of these two men that Winzet was called to Rome by the Pope, who showed him marked kindness. He was still there when, in the spring of 1576, Thomas Anderson, Abbot of the Scottish Benedictine monastery at Ratisbon, having died, the Pope, anxious to befriend the man who had lost home and country on account of his intrepid defence of the Faith, named Winzet to the vacant abbacy. There was one drawback, however, to the appointment, Winzet was a secular priest and not a religious. The difficulty was obviated by a dispensation from the year of novitiate, of obligation in the Bene-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* lv.



dictine Order, and Winzet took the habit, made his profession, and was consecrated Abbot on the same day. The officiating prelate was Dr. Goldwell, Bishop-elect of St. Asaph, like himself in exile for the Faith.<sup>1</sup>

The ancient Abbey of St. James', Ratisbon, founded in the twelfth century, had suffered greatly at the time of the Reformation, and when Winzet took possession the entire community consisted of one monk and one novice. The new Abbot set to work with characteristic energy to restore the ancient buildings as well as the ancient prestige of the monastery. At the particular request of Queen Mary, the Emperor Rudolph II restored to the Abbey the privileges which it had lost during the troublous times of the Reformation, and it was due also to Mary's intervention that the Duke of Bavaria, husband of her kinswoman, Renée of Lorraine, was induced to favour the new Abbot with his friendship and patronage. The Duke, however, soon learned to appreciate for himself the good qualities of Abbot Ninian. "May God, Who never forsakes His own, and Who knows all things," he wrote to Bishop Leslie a little later, "reward him for his piety and prudence."<sup>2</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Goldwell, All Souls College, Oxford, Bishop-Elect of St. Asaph, was present at the Council of Trent, and died in Rome in April, 1585. The document, signed by him, testifying to Winzet's installation as Abbot of St. James's is now at Blairs College.

<sup>2</sup> *Certane Tractates, Introduction.*



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fervent community of Scottish monks, like their Abbot in exile for their Faith, soon filled the cells of the ancient monastery; the seminaries were re-opened, and under Winzet's fostering care offered an excellent education to those Scottish youths whose parents were ready to brave the risk of banishment and confiscation, that their sons might be brought up in the Faith of their Fathers.<sup>1</sup> Nor was the Abbot content with the mere supervision of his schools, we find him not only directing the higher studies, but, with the zeal and enthusiasm of the born educator, busy at his old congenial task of "teaching virtue and science to the youth-head." A man, from all accounts, of singularly lovable personality and of genial kindness and wide sympathies, he had soon gathered round him a little band of faithful and devoted friends. The letters of Robert Turner, who, though an Englishman by birth, prided himself on his Fifeshire origin, give us some idea of the estimation in which Winzet was held by his contemporaries.<sup>2</sup>

Manifold and interesting as were his duties at Ratisbon, Abbot Ninian was watching closely the trend of affairs in Scotland. In 1582 he published his *Flagellum Sectariorum*, a Latin work which deals with two questions. First, whether

<sup>1</sup> It was a capital offence for Scotsmen to send their sons abroad for the Catholic education which they could no longer obtain at home.

<sup>2</sup> *Certane Tractates, Appendix.*

God ought to be obeyed rather than man, and secondly, whether obedience were due to the King more than to those who called themselves ministers, or—as Father James Dalrymple pithily puts it—“whether the King or his subjects should be in greater authoritie.”<sup>1</sup> In the same volume appeared the *Velitatio*, an answer to Buchanan’s *De Jure regni apud Scotos*.<sup>2</sup> In the *Velitatio*, says Nicolson, “Winzet showed himself as great a master of the imperial law as of critical learning.” Abbot Ninian also translated into the Scottish tongue, the *Great Catechism* published in 1554 by the Jesuit Father, Peter Canisius.

Ninian Winzet died in 1592 at the age of seventy-four, “beloved, honoured, and missed by all.” “Death,” says his biographer, Don Jerome Pollard Urquhart, “after a faithful monastic stewardship of sixteen years and a life’s devotion to his Faith and his country, came to him as a friend.” He was laid to rest by his sorrowing community in the ancient Church of St James’, where his monumental slab is yet to be seen.

“Ninian, Doctor of Sacred Theology,” runs the epitaph engraved upon it, “a man devout

<sup>1</sup> Father James Dalrymple was a monk of the monastery of St. James, and a contemporary of Abbot Ninian. He translated the History of Scotland, written by Bishop Leslie in Latin, into Scots. His translation, edited by Father Cody O. S. B., was published in 1895 by the Scottish Text Society.

<sup>2</sup> Described by Dr. Æneas Mackay as a calumnious work.

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and zealous, restored in this place the monastic life, and did much by word, writing, and exemplary life for the good of his neighbour. Having governed this monastery with the greatest credit for sixteen years, and having lawfully and canonically provided a successor, he fell asleep holy and peacefully in the Lord, on the 21st of September, in the year of Christ, 1592, in the 74th year of his age."

"His social qualities were attractive; his accomplishments many," says the learned and able editor of his works, "Contemporary co-religionists as well as his successors, gratefully and lovingly acknowledge the talent and merit of one who had unflinchingly devoted himself to their cause in the time of extremest peril, and never permitted misfortune to tempt him from the pursuit of knowledge and his checkered career of duty, nor yet prosperity to tarnish a spotless reputation."

## CHAPTER VI

### ARCHBISHOP HAMILTON

"That cruel tyrant and unmerciful hypocrite, falsely called Archbishop of St Andrews." Knox.

"A man very active in business and sound in judgement, and learn'd beyond any of the clergy in his time."

David Craufurd. *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland.*

IN the autumn of 1543 John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley and David Panter, later Bishop of Ross, returned to Scotland from Paris, where they had been pursuing their studies.<sup>1</sup> "The bruit of the learning and honest life of these two," says Knox, "and of their fervency and uprightness in religion, was such, that there was great hope that their presence should have been comfortable to the Kirk of God." He has visions of them in the pulpit, "preaching Christ Jesus," but the comfort he desired of them was apostasy, and they preferred to preach Christ Jesus according to the Faith of their fathers. "Few days," he adds, "disclosed their hypocrisy."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Leslie. *Hist. of Scotland.* Bannatyne Club. p. 172. Knox *Historie.*

<sup>2</sup> Knox. *Historie.*



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"It is questionable," says Dr. Cameron Lees, "whether this vituperation by Knox was deserved.<sup>1</sup> Hamilton was a staunch Catholic, brought up in all the traditions of the Church, and his residence in France naturally strengthened his attachments. He appears from the first never to have had any sympathy with the Reformers, and there seems no reason to believe that in the course he pursued he was actuated by any sordid motive such as is attributed to him by his opponents. He was certainly no hypocrite."<sup>2</sup>

From a charter of the Abbey of Paisley we learn that, already in 1545, the religious houses were threatened with destruction<sup>3</sup>, and that the magnificent old Abbey only escaped the reforming zeal of the Congregation through the championship of the Sempills, who turned out in force to protect it. The respite, however, was not for long, for Glencairn and the Protestants of the West, who had led the first attack, returned to the charge, and in the early summer of 1561, Paisley was wholly destroyed. From the few ruins left after the Reformers had done their work, it is difficult to form any idea of what the churches and abbeys of Scotland must have been in the days of their glory. Leslie, who, when he wrote his *History of Scotland* had travelled over the greater part of Europe, tells us that

<sup>1</sup> *Abbey of Paisley*. New Club. Ed. Cameron Lees.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 191.

they could bear comparison with the most beautiful buildings of other lands. Even when allowance is made for the enthusiasm of patriotism, it must be confessed that his description of Paisley calls up a fair picture.

“Two miles from Renfrew is the town of Paisley, on the banks of the Cart, in a pleasant situation, amid hills, woods and gardens. Thence there is a passage to a certain magnificent and wealthy monastery of the same name, surrounded by a very splend wall of dressed stone, with beautiful statues on the summit, for more than a mile on all sides. The beauty of the buildings of this temple, the splendours of the church furniture, and the beauty of the gardens, may rival many churches which are to-day considered more magnificent among foreign nations, a remark that might be made with perfect truth about all our monasteries without exception.”<sup>1</sup>

John Hamilton, natural son of James, Earl of Arran, was made Abbot of Paisley in 1541 and Bishop of Dunkeld in 1546. In 1547 he succeeded Cardinal Beton as Archbishop of St. Andrews, when stepping into the breach left vacant by the murder of Beton he became henceforth the chief supporter of the Catholic cause in Scotland. “All readers of Scottish history,” says Dr. Cameron Lees, “know with what determination he fought the battle of the Church.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Scotland.* Scottish Text Soc. Part I, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *The Abbey of Paisley.* New Club, Ed. Cameron Lees.

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One of the first acts of the new Archbishop was to set about the completion of St. Mary's College at St. Andrews, begun by his two predecessors. He endowed it from the revenues of his See with lands and tithes for the maintenance of four principal professors, eight students of theology, three professors of philosophy, etc., "for defending and confirming the Catholic Faith, that the Christian religion might flourish, the word of God be more abundantly sown in the hearts of the faithful, and heresy opposed."<sup>1</sup> It was not the smallest sorrow of his life to see during his own lifetime the college revenues appropriated to purposes directly contrary to those for which he had given them.

An energetic attempt at the reform of the abuses which were undermining the life of the Church, began with a National Provincial Council at the Blackfriars church in Edinburgh in the August of 1549. Strict measures were passed to ensure greater learning and zeal in the clergy; the evil lives of many ecclesiastics were denounced in the strongest terms, regular preaching was made of obligation, and lecturers in theology and Scripture appointed.<sup>2</sup> Qualified masters were to be provided for the grammar schools, and only men of learning and good life were to be ordained

<sup>1</sup> Lyon, *History of St. Andrews* I. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, II. 200—210.



to the priesthood.<sup>1</sup> The decrees of the Council were drastic and far reaching. If they had been carried out, the necessary reforms would have been accomplished and the prevalent abuses checked, but it was an easier thing to enact them than to ensure their observance. The many unworthy priests, ignorant, vicious and wholly unfitted for their charge, who had obtained benefices through court favour or the influence of powerful relations, hung like a dead weight on every effort to put an end to a condition of things which they had themselves brought about. Threatened at last with removal from their cures, if they did not amend their lives and fulfil the obligations of their state, many of them went over to the Reformers.

In the January of 1552 another Council was assembled by the Archbishop, several of the more important canons of the previous council being re-enacted, and new ones made. Since, in many cases, it was declared, the prelates and the inferior clergy were not sufficiently learned to instruct the people adequately in the doctrines of the Faith, a Catechism was to be compiled for their use, containing a brief, clear and Catholic explanation of the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments, with an exposition of the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation. This publication, known as "Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism"—though

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*



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it was probably the work of several writers, was to be read to the people by the clergy for half an hour every Sunday or holy day, when there was no competent preacher present.<sup>1</sup>

Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism has been much discussed by modern writers, some of whom profess to find in it a leaning towards the opinions of the German Reformers. "The tone of the whole work," says Bellesheim "is unmistakeably Catholic, and no impartial reader can peruse its pages without the conviction that the Scottish Church remained to the last uncompromisingly true and loyal to the ancient Faith."<sup>2</sup>

"As an original vernacular composition," says another writer,<sup>3</sup> "it holds high rank in the national literature. It is written clearly, simply and earnestly, often with eloquence, and it abounds in homely illustrations. Great pains had evidently been taken to make it suitable for popular instruction. With regard to the Commandments for instance, "it is not enough," says the Catechism, "to keep part of the commandments of God and to leave the rest, for as a harper will tune all his strings, in order to make a sound pleasing to his hearers, so must we keep all the Commandments of God, or our keeping will not be pleasing to Him." Another illustration on the same subject gives us a picture of the lighting of a sixteenth

<sup>1</sup> Bellesheim, II, 214-218.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *The Catechism of John Hamilton*, Ed. Law. Introd. viii.

century street. "Christian people, ye should use the law of God as ye would use a torch when ye gang hame to your house on a mirk night, for, as the torch or bowat shows you light to discern the right way home to your house from the wrong, and also the clean way from the foul, even so ought ye to use the law or command of God as a torch, bowat or lantern." The Commandments again are compared to a mirror, in which a man or woman may behold their face, to the effect that if they see their faces dirty, they may go to cleanse them in the Sacraments of Holy Kirk. Another simple illustration brings home vividly the application of the Sacraments. "When a cunning and expert chirurgeon heals the wounds of a hurt man, he himself, under God, is the principal healer of the wounds, by means of the plasters laid to them, nevertheless the swathes and bandages which hold fast the plasters to the wounds are the instruments for the healing and curing of them. So is our Saviour Jesus Christ our heavenly Chirurgeon, like the Samaritan that helped the wounded man who lay, half dead, half quick, between Jerusalem and Jericho. For with the virtue of His Passion as with a medicine or plaster, and with his Sacraments as spiritual swathes and bandages, applying and holding fast the plaster of His Passion to the wounds of our hurt and wounded souls, He heals them completely."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* The Commandments.

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The teaching of the Catechism on the subject of the Holy Eucharist is equally simple and equally Catholic. "As material bread of wheat feeds, nourishes, sustains and keeps a man in this corporal life, and wine refreshes, comforts and makes a man blythe in the same corporal life, so the precious Body and Blood of our Saviour, which are contained under the kinds of bread and wine, and signified by the same, feed, nourish and sustain, refresh, comfort and make a Christian man blythe in his soul when he receives this Sacrament devoutly with faith, hope and charity, as he should do. Moreover, bread and wine are convenient matter of this Sacrament, because they signify and betoken the unity of the mystic Body of our Saviour, Christ, which is the congregation of true Christian people, which unity is the proper effect of this Sacrament and signified by the same. For as bread is made of many grains of corn, and wine is made of many berries, and one body is made of many members, so the Kirk of God is gathered together of many Christian men and women bound together with the band of perfect love and charity and fastened with the Spirit of God." . . . . "Take heed, O Christian man and woman, how He says not, 'This is a figure of my Body and Blood' He says expressly : 'This is My Body and this is My Blood.' And that thou mayest be surely grounded in the true faith of this Sacrament, doubt not but that our Saviour Jesus Christ is both God and man, and so He is the eternal



veritie, whose Word is so true that nothing can be truer. And as it is impossible that mirkness can proceed from the clear shining sun, so is it impossible that any error, falsehood, or leasing can proceed from the mouth of Jesus Christ. All men of their own nature may beguile and be beguiled. But Jesus Christ, both God and man, can neither beguile nor be beguiled.”<sup>1</sup>

The Catechism explicitly teaches the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary,<sup>2</sup> which may be something of a surprise to those who believe that this doctrine was invented by Pius IX, to be defined at the Vatican Council of 1854. The author is wholly Catholic too, in his tender devotion to the Mother of Christ. “Sundry holy men were excellent in sundry virtues,” he says “but doubtless the glorious Virgin, because she was full of grace, excelled in all kinds of virtue, in all graces and gifts of the Holy Spirit, because she had in her womb the Son of God, Who is the well and perpetual spring of grace.” So, O Christian people, ye may easily understand that our Lord God was with the Virgin Mary more excellently than ever He was with any pure creature.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Catechism of Archbishop Hamilton*, Ed. Law. “Of the Sacrament of the Altar.”

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Introduction. See p. 276. “He blessed the conception of His mother, the Virgin Marie, when He preservit her from original sin.”

<sup>3</sup> *Catechism of Archbishop Hamilton*, 275.



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Speaking again of the Catholic use of images to impress the truths of the Faith upon the people. "The image of our Lady, the glorious Virgin Mary," he says, "bearing in her arms the bonny image of her son, commonly called the Baby Jesus, represents to us the blessed Incarnation and holy birth of our Saviour, that she was and is the Mother of the natural Son of God, as concerning His manly Nature."<sup>1</sup>

"Are images against the first Commandment? No, if that they will be well used. The making of images no Holy Writ forbids, says Venerable Bede, for the sight of them, especially of the crucifix, gives great compunction to those who behold it with faith in Christ, and to them that are unlettered it gives a living remembrance of the Passion of Christ. Solomon, in time of his wisdom, not without the inspiration of God, made images in the Temple. Moses, the excellent prophet and true servant of God, made and erected the brazen image of a serpent (which prefigured the lifting up of our Saviour upon the Cross), and also by the Commandment of God, caused to make the images of two angels called Cherubim, which thing these two so excellent men in wisdom would never have done, if the making of images were against the commandment of God. But utterly this commandment forbids to make images to the effect that they be adored and worshipped as gods. The images

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 53.

of the Apostles and Martyrs, with others, represent their true and constant faith, wherein they died with great pains for Christ His love, which, when we remember, we should beseech God in our prayers to give likewise to us a constant faith and fervent love of God.”<sup>1</sup> The whole Catechism, if modernised in language, would form an excellent basis for a course of instructions on Catholic doctrine at the present day.

The Catechism was “printed at Sanct Androus by the command and at the expensis of the maist reverend father in God, Johne, Archbishop of Sanct Androus, and primat of the hail kirk of Scotland, the 29th day of August the yeir of our Lord 1552.” If the Archbishop was its chief author was it with any premonition of what the future held for him that he wrote: “Be not vainly affected to the honours of this world, for Our Saviour tholit<sup>2</sup> great scorning and many strokes.”

In 1559, another Council, the last of the old Church in Scotland, was held at Edinburgh. The object was, if possible, to accommodate matters with the Reformers, more especially with the more moderate party, who desired reform but not revolution. These were, however, overruled by the more fanatical members of the Congregation, who were determined on the destruc-

*Catechism.* On the First Command.

<sup>2</sup> Bore, endured.

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tion of the Church and the appropriation of its revenues. No agreement was arrived at, but the decrees of the former Councils regarding the reform of current abuses were re-enacted in more drastic form. Every priest was to fit himself to perform the duties of his state or to be ejected from his cure within the space of six months. In the same year the Archbishop's beautiful Abbey of Paisley was "reformed," by the revolutionists, the adornments of the church were broken down, the tombs of kings and their monuments destroyed as idols, and the peaceful brotherhood scattered.<sup>1</sup> The "purging" of Paisley accomplished, Knox now announced his intention of preaching at St. Andrews. The Archbishop, in an attempt to save the Cathedral, brought a hundred armed men to its defence, but the following of the Congregation was too strong for him, and he was forced to retire. Knox preached, in the Archbishop's pulpit, the famous sermon on the casting out of the buyers and sellers from the Temple, in which he compared the Catholic Church to the traffickers, and the Congregation to the Founder of Christianity. For three days, the 11th, 12th and 13th of June, the work of destruction, outcome of his eloquence, continued. The beautiful old Cathedral which had been a hundred and sixty years in building, the Metropolitan Church of Scotland and its glory, was absolutely gutted and reduced to a melancholy

<sup>1</sup> *The Abbey of Paisley*, Ed. Cameron Lees.



ruin. Windows were dashed to atoms, statues broken, chalices, candlesticks, shrines of gold and silver carried off to be melted down, liturgical books and manuscripts, records, registers and charters cast into the flames. The Franciscan and Dominican monasteries shared the fate of the Cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

Archbishop Hamilton was present in the August of 1560, at the Convention which accepted the Confession of Faith, and was one of those who attempted to oppose it, although he could not fail to be aware of the futility of his protest. His letter, dated the 18th of that month, tells of an overwhelming majority, prepared to adopt the most violent measures to obtain success.<sup>2</sup> "I hear they will do all things they may against Kirk and Kirkmen," he writes to the Archbishop of Glasgow. "All these preachers persuade openly the nobility in the pulpit to put violent hands and slay all Kirkmen that will not concur and take their opinion, and openly reproach my Lord Duke<sup>3</sup> that he will not begin first and either cause me to do as they do, or else use the Rigour on me by slaughter, sword, or at the least, perpetual prison. And with time, if they en-

<sup>1</sup> Bellesheim. *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, II, 270. Lawson's ed. of *Keith*, Vol. I p. 205. Gordon. *Scotichronicon*. Grub. *Ecclesiastical Hist. of Scotland*.

<sup>2</sup> *Abbey of Paisley*, Ed., Cameron Lees.

<sup>3</sup> His brother Arran, Duke of Chatelherault.



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ture, no man may have life without they grant their Articles, which I will not.”<sup>1</sup>

“These preachers are so seditious,” he adds, “that I believe little obedience to the Authority so long as they have place.”<sup>2</sup> He was to prove a true prophet.

Archbishop Spottiswood, the Protestant successor of Hamilton in the See of St. Andrews, in the MS. copy of the Third Book of his History, says Keith,<sup>3</sup> relates how Archbishop Hamilton sent to Knox, one John Brand, bidding him warn the Reformer of the danger he was incurring by upsetting entirely the ecclesiastical system. He himself had endeavoured to reform the Church, he said, for there was much need of reform, but to shake off the policy of ages was a dangerous thing to do, as the country might learn to its cost. Spottiswood himself corroborates the truth of this remark. “The state of the Church was quite overturned,” he wrote some fifty years later, “and with the Reformation that was much desired (and was indeed most needful) many things were done extremely hurtful both to the Church and Kingdom; as, temples demolished, religious places ruined; the rents and rights of the Church sacrilegiously usurped, and the ex-

<sup>1</sup> Letter in the Archives of the Scots College at Paris, quoted by Keith, *Hist. of Church and State in Scotland*, Book III, p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 495

ternal policy (*than which a more wise Form of Government could not be devised*) utterly overthrown. Thus, as it falleth out sometimes in bodies replenished with corrupt humours, the Remedy intended for purging one disease, brought with it many infections, such as this Age, perhaps the succeeding, shall not see fully cured and put away."<sup>1</sup>

The saying and hearing of Mass was now a criminal offence, punishable by death.<sup>2</sup> His livings taken from him by Act of Parliament, and his Cathedral of St. Andrews sacked, Archbishop Hamilton retreated for safety to the Abbey of Paisley, where he was surrounded by staunch friends of his own Faith. He was not long at peace. In the early summer of 1561, at the instigation of the General Assembly, an Act was passed for the demolition of such monasteries as had not yet been destroyed; Argyll and Glencairn, at the head of a band of Protestants, attacked and burned the Abbey, and the Archbishop was obliged to fly for his life.<sup>3</sup> "The Bishop of St. Andrews, who was Abbot thereof," writes Knox jubilantly, "narrowly escaped."

In the meantime Mary Stuart had returned to Scotland, and a week or so after her arrival had issued an Edict of Toleration which forbade

<sup>1</sup> Spottiswood, Keith, Book III, p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> Keith, Book I, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Abbey of Paisley*, New Club, Ed. Cameron Lees.

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mutual recriminations on religious subjects, announced that the state of religion would occupy the Queen's attention, and authorized the celebration of Catholic rites for the Royal household. For the rest everybody had permission to worship God in peace according to their own conscience.<sup>1</sup>

This was by no means what the preachers wanted. "Mr. Knox cannot be otherwise persuaded but that many men are deceived in this woman," wrote Randolph to Cecil on October 24th, 1561. "I commend better the success of his doings and preachings than the manner thereof. His prayer is daily for her that God will turn her obstinate heart, against God and His truth, or, if the holy Will be otherwise, to strengthen the Hearts and Hands of His Chosen Elect, stoutly to withstand the Rage of all Tyrants."

"These things ministered great offence, especially to the preachers," wrote Herries. "The Queen was challenged for having Mass solemnly sung at St. Andrews on St. Andrew's day. They said she had exceeded the liberty granted her; she had liberty only for private exercise of her religion, not public singing. All the pulpits cries out upon this, as superstition and public idolatry, not to be suffered. A meeting was appointed betwixt the nobles and ministers, where it was publicly debated whether the supreme magistrates might be compelled to keep within the bounds of the law. The whole voyces

<sup>1</sup> Keith, Book III, p. 151, 504.



of the ministers were clear in this, but some of the noblemen dissented."<sup>1</sup>

"The affections of those of the Reformed Religion was so averse from the Queen," says this contemporary writer, "that everything she did was constructed in the worst sense. If anything done was not in their favour it was esteemed tyranny ; that which was done to honour or satisfy them was called dissimulation."<sup>2</sup>

In October of the same year, in reply to an insulting enactment of the Town Council of Edinburgh, ordering notorious criminals, together with Catholics, (the wicked rabble of that Antichrist the Pope), "and all sic filthy persons " to leave the city within twenty-four hours, "under pain of carting through the town, branding on the cheek and banishing for ever,"<sup>3</sup> the Queen issued a Proclamation granting permission to all her good and faithful subjects to reside in Edinburgh and to come to, or depart from the place according to their pleasure or convenience. "In this way," writes Knox, "the devil got freedom again, whereas before he durst not have been seen in daylight upon the common streets."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herries. *Memoirs*.

<sup>2</sup> Herries. *Memoirs*.

<sup>3</sup> Register of the Town Council of Edinburgh, 2nd Oct., 1561.

<sup>4</sup> "Jezebel's letter and wicked will is obeyed as law," wrote Knox. (*John Knox and the Reformation*. Andrew Lang, p. 201, note).



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Even the astute Lethington, working in Elizabeth's interests, and Randolph, her agent in Scotland, lost patience with the unreasonableness of the Reformers and their behaviour to the Queen.

"They pray," wrote Randolph to Cecil, "that God will keep us from the bondage of strangers ; and, for herself, as much in effect as, that God will either turn her heart or send her short life. Of what charity or spirit this proceedeth, I leave to be discussed by the great divines."<sup>1</sup> Knox himself allows that the politicians were not alone in resenting the methods of the Reformers. "The ministers," he writes, "perceiving all things tend to ruin, discharged their consciences in public and in private, but they received for their labours hatred and indignation. Whisperings and complaints arose that men were not charitably handled. Could not their sins be reprov'd in general without men being so specially taxed that all the world might know of whom the preacher spoke? Thus had the servants of God ane double battle; fighting on the one side against the idolatry and the rest of the abominations maintained by the Queen, and on the other against the unthankfulness of such as sometime would have been esteemed the chief pillars of the Kirk."<sup>2</sup>

He candidly admits that "the threatenings of the preachers were fearful." "At last they (the

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers*, 28th Feb., 1562-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Historie of the Reformation*, Book IV, p. 418.

carnal-minded) began to jest at the term of idolatry, saying that men wist not what they meant when they called the Mass idolatry. Some went further and feared not at open tables to profess that they would sustain the argument that the Mass was no idolatry." At this sign of returning sanity the Reformer was aghast. He harangued the backsliders violently from the pulpit. "O Lord, how long shall the wicked prevail against the just?"<sup>1</sup>

Although the Queen, as we learn from Lethington's letters, behaved towards the Reformer, with much forbearance, her gentleness seems to have created no impression in her favour. "As long as she retained her own faith and permitted the celebration of Mass in her private chapel," says Tytler "nothing could disarm his suspicions, appease his wrath or check the personality of his attacks."<sup>2</sup>

At the fourth General Assembly, held in the summer of 1562, the minister and commissioners issued a Supplication requiring the Queen to exercise the penal laws against Catholics—described as, those living in contempt of God, His Word and His Sacraments."<sup>3</sup>

Archbishop Hamilton, meanwhile, had returned to Paisley, where his people still remained true to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 428.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Scotland.* VI, p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> *Book of the Univ. Kirk.* p. 21.

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the old Faith. Preachers coming later to the town, returned discomfited to Edinburgh to lodge an indignant complaint that the people of Paisley had "steikit the doors against them and refusit to let them into the parish kirk to preach the Word."<sup>1</sup> In the Easter week of 1563 the Archbishop, together with the Prior of Whithern and several other priests were seized by the brethren, who, on the plea that these men had administered the Sacraments of their Church, "some in secret houses, some in barns, others among the woods and hills," announced that they were determined to appeal neither to Queen nor to Council, but to execute upon them with their own hands the punishment due to idolatry.<sup>2</sup> In vain did Mary remonstrate with Knox, who declared that it was the duty of men who feared God to inflict judgment if princes refused to do so. She then consented, as the lesser evil, to let the prisoners be summoned before a Court of Justice at Edinburgh. The Archbishop, surrounded by a little band of priests—probably some of the monks of Paisley, who still lingered round their ruined Abbey—was treated with scant respect, being compelled to stand at the bar like a common criminal<sup>3</sup> while Knox, says Dr.

<sup>1</sup> Keith. Book III, 537. *Records of General Assembly*. Even a hundred years later Paisley was described as "a nest of Papists."

<sup>2</sup> Tytler. *ist of Scotland*, Vol. VI, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> *The Abbey of Paisley*, Ed. Cameron Lees.



Cameron Lees, seems to have taken a somewhat unworthy delight in noticing the indignity offered to his fallen enemy. "Upon the xix day of July," says the Diurnal of Occurrents, "the Bishop of St. Andrews compearit and underlyit the law for breaking of the act anent the saying of Mass, and, after great debate, reasoning and communication had in the counsell by the protestants, who was bent even to the death against the said Archbishop and other kirkmen, the said Archbishop past to the Tolbooth and became in the Queen's will, and so the Queen's grace commanded him to pass to the Castle of Edinburgh during her will, to appease the furiosity foresaid, whereupon he entered on the xx day of May, and the Prior of Whitherne was put in captivity in Dumbarton on the xxi day. The remaining priests who had been summoned tholit the law, and some of them put in ward in some towns and some relevit upon caution."<sup>1</sup>

"The aspect of things," wrote Nicholas de Gouda, the papal legate, who was in Scotland about this time, "is miserable enough. The monasteries are nearly all in ruins, some completely destroyed ; churches, altars, sanctuaries, are overthrown and profaned. No religious rite is celebrated in any part of the kingdom, no Mass ever said in public, except in the Queen's chapel, and none of the Sacraments publicly administered

<sup>1</sup>"The Archbishop," says Andrew Lang, "and the others, were imprisoned for doing what it was their duty, and their point of honour, to have done." *Hist. of Scotland* II, 127.



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with Catholic ceremonial. The ministers, as they are called, are quite unlearned, being cobblers, shoemakers, tanners or the like,<sup>1</sup> while their ministrations consist chiefly of declamations against the Supreme Pontiff and the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, the idolatry of the Mass, the worship of images, and the invocation of saints. They have superintendents, who diligently visit the churches, and drive out the lawful pastors. Whenever anyone comes into a court of law, the magistrates always enquire first if they are Papists, or belong to the Congregation. Should they be Papists, they can get very little, if any, attention paid to their cause." Such religious as were left," he continues, "were living in concealment among their friends, and it was not safe for any priest to wear his ecclesiastical dress."<sup>2</sup>

On May 26th Mary's first Parliament met at Edinburgh. The young Queen, crowned and wearing her royal robes, opened it in person with a gracious address which completely won the hearts of her subjects. "God save that sweet face," they cried, "she speaks as properly as any orator among them!"<sup>3</sup> The scene was

<sup>1</sup> That this, though undoubtedly exaggerated, was partly true, is shown by the report of the ninth General Assembly that "the common talk was that many ignorant men of bad conversation were admitted to be ministers."

<sup>2</sup> *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*. Forbes Leith, 73.

<sup>3</sup> Knox. *Historie*. Randolph to Cecil. June 23rd, 1563.

not pleasing to Knox. "Such stinking pride of women," he commented bitterly, "as was seen at that Parliament, was never seen before in Scotland." Rumours were already abroad of the Queen's marriage with a Catholic Prince. "Whenever the nobility assent to the marriage of the Queen to an infidel, and all Papists are infidels," he announced in a sermon at which the nobles were present in force, "they will be doing their best to banish Christ Jesus from the realm, and to draw God's vengeance upon the country." This officious and uncalled for interference with Mary's marriage, says Tytler, "called forth the indignation of both Catholics and Protestants."<sup>1</sup>

Lethington, one of the few people who were not afraid of Knox, undertook, in the famous debate in the Inner Council House, to point out to the Reformer that the goodwill of the people towards their young sovereign was in danger of being alienated through the virulent invectives of the preachers. To this Knox replied that friendliness between wicked rulers and the people of God was not to be desired. Lethington found fault with the manner in which he prayed for the Queen. "God knows," answered Knox, "that I have prayed privately and publicly for her conversion, showing the people the danger in which they stand by reason of her endurit blindness." That, urged Lethington, was just his objection. "You call her the slave of Satan ;

<sup>1</sup> *History of Scotland*, IV, 285.

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you affirm that the vengeance of God hangs over the realm by reason of her impiety,—what is this but to rouse the hearts of the people against her Majesty? ”<sup>1</sup>

“It sufficeth me,” was the answer, “that the Master and Teacher of both Prophets and Apostles has taught me so to pray.”

“Wherein rebels she against God?” demanded Lethington.

“In all the actions of her life, but especially that she will not hear the blessed Evangel of Jesus Christ, and that she maintains that idol, the Mass, persisted the Reformer.

“She thinks that not rebellion, but good religion,” argued Maitland. “So thought they that offered their children unto Moloch,” answered Knox.

“All this reasoning is not to the purpose,” said Lethington, when the discussion had gone on for some time, “our question is, whether we may or ought to suppress the Queen’s Mass.”

“Idolatry ought not only to be suppressed,” replied Knox, “but the idolater ought to die the death.”

“There is no commandment given to the people,” argued Lethington, “to punish their King if he be an idolater.”

To this Knox answered that he found no more privilege granted to kings to offend God than to

<sup>1</sup> Knox, *Historie*. c.f. Skelton, *Maitland of Lethington*, II, 58.



the people. He quoted, as usual, Achab and Jezebel.

"We are not bound to imitate extraordinary examples," said Lethington, "unless we have a like commandment."

"The commandment: 'the idolater shall die the death' is perpetual," persisted the Reformer. "The most advanced theorist will be ready to own," says Skelton, "that the doctrine of resistance as formulated by Knox, could lead only to anarchy."<sup>1</sup>

The possibility of the Queen's marriage with Darnley was touched upon by Randolph in a letter to Elizabeth, dated the 12th of November, 1564. He alludes to "the terrible fear of the godly that the Queen should marry a Papist." Elizabeth and her Council immediately declared themselves opposed to the match, on the not very obvious ground that it would be dangerous to the weal of both countries.<sup>2</sup> Randolph's letters, to which, says Tytler, we must beware of giving too much confidence,<sup>3</sup> now begin to draw a lively picture of the evils likely to arise from the marriage. There is no doubt, that Randolph was colouring his views to suit his own purposes and to favour the views of the English faction.<sup>4</sup> "When he asserted that the union

<sup>1</sup> *Maitland of Lethington*, II, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Keith. *Church and State in Scotland*. Book II, 261.

<sup>3</sup> History, VI, 331, 332, 341, 342.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



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with Darnley was odious to the whole nation, that the Queen had fallen into universal contempt by reason of it, and that the lives of the Protestant preachers were in danger, he stated what was contradicted by subsequent events and disproved by his own letters. As long as Mary, deceived and drawn on by the protestations and duplicity of Elizabeth, placed herself under the guidance of this Princess, she was represented in the letters of Randolph as amiable, truthful, affectionate, popular. The Protestants were described as contented, excepting the most violent, whose conduct this envoy repeatedly censures. Yet, no sooner did Mary fix her choice on Darnley ; no sooner did it appear to Moray that his power was on the wane, and to Randolph that the English faction in Scotland was likely to lose ground and be superseded in authority, than his letters abound in complaints, and misrepresentations. The reformed religion was described as not only in danger, but already ruined, and the godly undone ; the Queen was said to have fallen into universal contempt, and we are told that an irresistible party had resolved to oppose the marriage and avert the ruin of their country.”<sup>1</sup>

It has been suggested by some historians that Mary was really indifferent on the subject of religion. Her own words to Throckmorton and

<sup>1</sup> Tytler VI, 542. “Randolph,” says Keith, (Book II, 274, note) “was indeed a complete tool for his mistress’s evil purposes.”

to Knox bear witness to the contrary. She cannot but have been aware that the simple step of going over to the Reformers would have swept from her path all the obstacles that in the end were to prove her ruin. She did not go over to the Reformers. "Her poor soul is so troubled for the preservation of her silly Mass," wrote Randolph in the December of 1562, "that she knoweth not where to turn for the defence of it."

The great Sacrifice of the Mass, "the saving Commemoration of Christ's saving Passion," as a mediæval writer calls it,<sup>1</sup> the great Act of praise and prayer, offered by the Catholic Church to give supreme honour and glory to God, to thank Him for his benefits, to make reparation for individual sin as well as for the sins of the whole world, and to obtain everything needful for the welfare of soul and body,<sup>2</sup> the very centre and heart of Catholic worship, was now proscribed by law, as idolatry, and to those who were wont to draw from it strength and courage for the battle of life, was offered a form of worship consisting chiefly of interminable sermons, either political in their trend or fiercely denunciatory of the religion they loved. In one place alone was the Mass permitted, and the preachers were watching with jealous eyes lest any who were not of the

<sup>1</sup> Hector Boece. *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen.*

<sup>2</sup> *Catechism of Catholic Doctrine.*

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royal household should share in the solace unwillingly granted to the Queen.

"Things are now grown into such a liberty," wrote Randolph to Cecil on the 20th March, 1564-5, "and Her Grace taken unto herself such a will to do therein what she lists; that, of late, contrary to her own ordinances, as great numbers have repaired to her Chapel to hear Mass, as sometimes come to the common church to hear sermon. To have her mind altered from this freedom, she desireth to have all men live as they list. She can hardly be brought, and thinketh it too great a subjection for her, being a Prince in her own country, to have her will broken therein. The subjects that desire to live in the true worship and fear of God offer rather their lives to be sacrificed than that they would suffer again such an abomination, yea, almost permit herself to enjoy the Mass, which is now more plainly and openly spoken against by the Preachers than ever was the Pope of Rome. . . . Her own Mass and the resort unto it; such Blasphemies as these unpunished; her will to continue papistry, and her desire to have all men live as they list,<sup>1</sup> so offendeth the godly mens' consciences, and so many besides that desire alteration" (the rebels who desired to dethrone Mary) that it is continually feared that these matters will shortly break out into some greater

<sup>1</sup>"The liberty of conscience required by the Reformers," says Andrew Lang, (*John Knox and the Reformation*) included the refusal of it to everybody else.



mischief." Randolph wrote with knowledge. Matters did break out into greater mischief before many months had passed, and he himself was deeply implicated in the plot.

In the June of 1565 the Queen summoned a Convention to meet at Perth, to discuss the question of her marriage with Darnley. While this Convention was sitting, Moray and Argyll, in concert with Knox and the preachers, called a general Assembly of the Church to meet in Edinburgh. Urged on by the eloquence of Knox, the citizens proceeded to hold a convocation in the fields near the town, and passed a resolution to seize the weapons of those who were favourable to the marriage and organize a rising against it. The General Assembly meanwhile drew up a "Supplication" demanding that the "Papistical and Blasphemous Mass, with all Popish idolatry, should be universally suppressed and abolished throughout the whole realm, not only amongst the subjects, *but in the Queen's Majesty's own person and family*; that such as tried to transgress the same should be punished according to the laws, and that "the true religion formerly received should be professed by the Queen as well as by her subjects, and people of all sorts bound to resort, upon the Sundays at least, to the prayers and preaching of God's Word, as in former times they were holden to hear Mass."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Spottiswood. *Hist. of the Church*, Lib. iv p. 190.



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Mary answered these demands, which, says Tytler, approached indefinitely near to the compelling herself, and all who adhered to the Catholic Faith, to renounce what they believed to be true and embrace what they were persuaded was false,<sup>1</sup> with a more gentle and reasonable reply than could, under the circumstances, have been expected. As for herself, she answered, she was by no means persuaded that there was any impiety in the Mass, and she trusted that her subjects would not press her to act against her conscience. For, not to dissemble, but to deal plainly with them, she neither might nor would forsake the religion wherein she had been nourished and brought up, believing the same to be the true Religion and grounded upon the Word of God. Therefore she desired all her loving subjects who had experience of her former goodness, how she had neither in times past forced the conscience of any person, nor did intend to do so in time to come, but would permit everyone to serve God in such manner as they were persuaded to be the best, that they likewise would not urge her to anything that stood not with the quietness of her mind.<sup>2</sup>

The arrangements for the marriage being now complete, Moray and Argyll, with the approval of Randolph and Elizabeth, formed a plot to seize both Mary and Darnley. "Moray's

<sup>1</sup> *History of Scotland.* Vol VI, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> Keith. *Church and State.* Book III, p. 541.

ultimate object, if we may believe a brother conspirator, being to murder Darnley, usurp the government and imprison the Queen for life in Lochleven.”<sup>1</sup> This arrangement having been defeated by the prompt action of the Queen, Moray and his faction endeavoured to rouse the people by the old cry that nothing less was intended than a persecution of the godly and the overthrow of religion.” This move also, Mary succeeded in checkmating, by the issue of a Proclamation, declaring that, although “divers evil persons, subjects of this realm,” had tried to alienate from her the hearts and love of her people, the reports that she intended to molest any of them in the free use of their religion, according to their conscience, were absolutely untrue. By this open proclamation, ordered to be made at the Market crosses in all the boroughs of the kingdom, she pledged herself that, as none of her people hitherto had been molested on account of their religion, so neither should they be in the time to come, so long as they behaved themselves honestly as good subjects.<sup>8</sup> The Queen then summoned her loyal lieges to meet her in arms at Edinburgh, to the end that she might proceed against the insurgent barons. This prompt action averted the danger of a civil war; the royal marriage was celebrated at Holy-

<sup>1</sup> Tytler, Vol. VI, p. 350. Randolph to Cecil, 4th July 1563. Keith, p. 291. Goodall, Vol. II, 358, 359.

<sup>2</sup> Keith. Book II, Appendix p. 106.

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rood on the 29th of July, and Moray was summoned to appear at court or to be publicly proclaimed a rebel. His answer to the summons was to march on Edinburgh, where he sustained such a crushing defeat that he was obliged to take refuge at the friendly Court of Elizabeth, until the plot which ended in the murder of Rizzio made it safe for him to return to Scotland.

During these proceedings Knox remained in Edinburgh, denouncing "the regimen of godless princes." On the 19th of August, Darnley being present at the service at St. Giles', the Reformer made such pointed allusions to Ahab and Jezebel that he was summoned before the Council and suspended from preaching for two or three weeks. The General Assembly met in December, when it must have been some solace to his wounded spirit to draw up the answer of the Kirk to Mary's objections against the "Supplication." "Where her Majesty answers," runs this wide-minded and truly Christian document, "that she is not persuaded in Religion, neither that she understands any impiety in the Mass, but that the same is well grounded etc. it is no small grief to the Christian hearts of her godly subjects, considering that the trumpet of Christ's Evangel has been so long blown in this country . . . that her Majesty remains yet unpersuaded of the truth of this our religion. For this our religion only has God the Father, His only Son Jesus Christ our Lord, His Holy Spirit speaking in His Prophets and Apostles, for authors thereof, the which no



other religion on the face of the earth can justly allege or plainly prove." They beg that "Her Highness will embrace the means whereby she may be persuaded of the truth." *e.g.* to hear them preach, "which is the chief means appointed by God," as also "by public disputation against the adversaries of this our Religion in presence of her Majesty, whensoever it shall be thought expedient to her Grace"—the urgent and reiterated demand of Winzet for a reply to his defence of the Catholic Faith had evidently escaped the memory of the brethren. "As to the impiety of the Mass . . . the author or sayer, the Action itself, the opinion thereof conceived, the hearers and gazers upon it, allow sacrilege, pronounce Blasphemy, and commit most abominable idolatry, as we have ever maintained and still offer ourselves most manifestly to prove."<sup>1</sup>

If Darnley had been as noble in character as he was handsome in appearance, his marriage with Mary would have been most suitable in every way. He was not a foreigner, he was of the blood royal; his claim to the throne of England was second only to Mary's own, and their union would secure to their children the indisputable right of succession. But it was not long before Mary Stuart discovered to her sorrow that the man in whom she had hoped to find a fit help-mate was weak and vicious, without honour and without heart. Ungrateful for all the honours

<sup>1</sup> Keith. Book III, 550.



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which she had heaped upon him, he never ceased to importune her for the Crown matrimonial, and, on her refusal to grant it, sold himself to her enemies.<sup>1</sup>

“That the plot which ended in the murder of Rizzio, a faithful and true servant of the Queen and a man of rare wisdom and talent, was known and approved of by Cecil and other members of the English Cabinet, is proved by the letters of Randolph, one of the prime movers in the conspiracy. The aim was to prevent the meeting of the Parliament to be held on the 12th of March at which Moray and his associates were to be forfeited.”<sup>2</sup> Camden mentions a paper signed by the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, certifying to the fact that Moray and Lethington had acknowledged before them that Morton, Lindsay and Ruthven slew David Rizzio “to no other intent than to save Moray, who was at that time to be proscribed.”<sup>3</sup> Sir James Melvil gives the same account, adding that the Earl of Morton, son of Sir George Douglas and as great a traitor as his father, “was afraid that the Parliament might recall some very considerable grants, surreptitiously obtained by him during the Queen’s minority.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tytler. *Hist. of Scotland*, VII, 18, 20-26. Craufurd. *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*. Keith. *Church and State in Scotland*.

<sup>2</sup> Tytler, VII, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Craufurd, *Memoirs*, XXXV.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, XXXVI.

Morton feared also that Rizzio, who was strongly against Moray and the other rebel Lords, would be appointed Chancellor in his stead. Darnley had already signed a bond with the rebels in England, pledging himself to prevent their forfeiture and to stand by them in all their enterprises, on condition that they would grant him the Crown matrimonial<sup>1</sup>—an implicit consent to the subversion of Mary's authority. "I know that there are practices in hand," wrote Randolph to Leicester, "to come by the crown against her will. I know that, if that take effect which is intended, David, with the consent of the King, shall have his throat cut within these ten days. Many things grievouser and worse than these are brought to my ears; yea of things intended against her own person, which, because I think better to keep secret than write to Mr. Secretary, I speak not of them now but to your Lordship."<sup>2</sup>

That Knox and Craig, the two ministers of Edinburgh, were privy to the plot, has been proved by Fraser Tytler from documentary evidence.<sup>3</sup> "The first public fast of the Reformed Church was held during the week for which Rizzio's murder had been planned," says

<sup>1</sup> Tytler, VII. 23, 24. Keith, Appendix, II. "Certain Articles to be subscribed by Moray, Glencairn, Argyle, etc., and "Certain Articles to be fulfilled by the noble and mighty Prince Henry, King of Scotland to James, Earl of Moray etc. in England."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tytler, VII, 19, Randolph to Leicester, Feb. 13th, 1565-6.

<sup>3</sup> Proofs and Illustrations. Vol. VII. *History of Scotland*.

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Skelton, "and in the form of prayer prepared by Knox for the occasion, his knowledge of the plot enabled him to exercise his prophetic gifts with marked advantage."<sup>1</sup>

What were the "many things grievouser and worse than these," intended "against the Queen's own person," to which Randolph darkly alludes? Mary was within a few months of becoming a mother, and there was every chance, if the plot were carried out as well as it had been organised, that it might cause the death of both mother and child. "It appeared to be done," says Sir James Melvil, "to destroy both her and her child, for they might have killed the said Rizzio in any other part, at any time they pleased."<sup>2</sup> But was this indirect attempt on Mary's life the only one premeditated? Mary, in her own account of the murder of her secretary, states that Andrew Ker of Faudonside held a pistol to her breast and actually pulled the trigger, but that the weapon hung fire.<sup>3</sup> Anthony Standen, the Queen's page, who was in the room at the time, declared that Patrick Bellenden, brother of the Justice-Clerk, thrust at her with a rapier, and that he himself, with the torch he had been holding to light the musicians, struck it aside.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Maitland of Lethington*, II, 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Labanoff, Blackwood.

<sup>4</sup> Inedited Relation of the life and death of Mary Stuart, from the *Memoirs* of the Pontificate of Sextus V in the archives of the capitol, c.f. Strickland. *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, IV, 285.



Mary's courage and spirit prevailed once more over the plots of her enemies. The midnight flight from Holyrood, the swift ride to Dunbar, the rally of the Queen's loyal subjects to her defence, the precipitate flight of the conspirators from Edinburgh and the triumphant return of the royal party to the capital followed in quick succession. "Upon the xvii day of March," says the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, "quhilk was Sunday, the hail Lords, committers of the slaughter and crimes above written, with all their complices and men of war, with dolorous hearts departed from Edinburgh towards Linlithgow at 7 hours in the morning, And upon the same day John Knox, minister of Edinburgh, in likewise departed from the said burgh at twa hours of afternoon, with ane great mourning of the godly of religion."<sup>1</sup>

The first to rally to the side of the Queen were the Hamiltons, foremost among them being the Archbishop, who in spite of the Council,<sup>2</sup> had been liberated by Mary, after a few months of captivity. During the first four years of her reign the Queen had done her utmost to conciliate the Protestant party; Moray, its acknowledged leader, had been her chief adviser; she had borne the insolence and enmity of Knox with a patience that astonished even the hostile Randolph. "The Protestant nobility and the reformed clergy,"

<sup>1</sup> p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, *Historie*, c.f. Herkless and Hannay. *Lives of the Archbishops of St. Andrews*, V, 158.



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says Fraser Tytler, "had been treated ever since her arrival in her dominions with high favour, and the great body of her subjects who adhered to the ancient faith, were kept under."<sup>1</sup> For the sake of the peace of the kingdom, Mary had gone against her own inclinations, ; against her conscience she refused to go, and the preachers would be content with nothing less. The Protestant nobles had, for the most part, joined in the rebellion against her authority, it was only natural that, betrayed by those whom she had trusted, she should now turn openly to the men of her own Faith. Yet her conduct bears witness that she was prompted by no spirit of revenge for the dastardly outrage committed against her. "A policy of conciliation," says Skelton<sup>2</sup> "was steadily pursued. Moray was forgiven, as were Rothes, Ochiltree and Kirkcaldy. Her moderate policy was universally approved." "I never," says Du Croc, writing to Archbishop Beton, the Queen's ambassador in France, shortly after the birth of James VI, "saw her Majesty so much beloved, honoured and esteemed, nor so great a harmony among all her subjects as at present is, by her wise conduct."<sup>3</sup>

The little prince was baptised at Stirling on the seventeenth of December, 1566, according to the

<sup>1</sup> Tytler, *Hist.*, VI, 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Maitland of Lethington*, II, 179.

<sup>3</sup> Du Croc, the French ambassador to Scotland, to Archbishop Beton. C.f. Keith, 346.

Catholic rite, by the Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Countess of Argyll, half-sister to Queen Mary, and god-mother to the royal child on behalf of Queen Elizabeth, held him in her arms at the font, for which crime she was afterwards compelled by the Kirk to do penance in the same church, clad in a white sheet. "The Queen," wrote Du Croc, "behaved herself admirably well all the time of the baptism, and showed so much earnestness to entertain all the goodly company in the best manner, that this made her forget in a good measure her former ailments."<sup>1</sup> He adds that her constant sadness had been remarked by others besides himself. Mary had reason to be sad. "The Queen hath now seen," wrote Randolph to Cecil in the April of the same year, "all the covenants and bands that passed between the king and the lords, and now findeth that his declaration before her and the council, of his innocency of the death of David, was false."<sup>2</sup>

Darnley, furious because the Queen no longer allowed him an equal share in the government, was outraging public opinion by his behaviour. He had moreover made implacable enemies of the men whose cause he had pledged himself to uphold, and whom, to save himself, he had betrayed. The dark plot that was to end in his murder was already afoot.

Mary's first act after the baptism of the infant

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Cecil, MS. Letter, c.f. Tytler, VII, 37.

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prince was to grant to the Archbishop of St. Andrews a Commission, restoring to him his ancient jurisdiction, and re-establishing the Consistorial Court, of which he had been the head. He is alluded to in the document as "our well-beloved and trusted Counsellor, John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate and Legate of all Scotland."<sup>1</sup> This act of the Queen showed clearly enough that she regarded the Acts passed in the Convention of 1560, to which she had never given her sanction, as illegal.<sup>2</sup> The General Assembly, which met on the 27th of December, issued a Supplication in the usual style, protesting that "since Satan hath so far prevailed," they stood "in extreme danger of being deprived of the glorious evangel of Jesus Christ and being left in damnable darkness." They complained unto God, "and all His obedient creatures," that "that conjured enemy of Jesus Christ and cruel murderer of our brethren, most falsely styled Archbishop of St. Andrews, had been restored to his former tyranny." "In ane most lawful and free Parliament that ever was in this realm was that odious beast deprived of jurisdiction." A circular letter from Knox to the brethren uses almost the same expressions. The Archbishop was requested to take no action "for fear of

<sup>1</sup> C.f. Herkless and Hannay. *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, V, 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



trouble and sedition," and "was persuaded," says Knox himself, "to desist at that time."<sup>1</sup>

On the 10th of March, 1567, Darnley was murdered in the house of the Provost of St Mary's-in-the-Fields. "The conspirators," says Leslie,<sup>2</sup> "of whom the leaders were Moray, Morton, Argyll, Bothwell and the secretary Lethington, met privately, and after interchange of views, unanimously subscribed a written agreement to the effect that Darnley might lawfully be put to death, both because of the offence he had committed in rescuing the Queen from custody on the occasion of David's murder, and because he had endeavoured to make himself King against her wishes. They added, for the encouragement of Bothwell, that Mary could scarcely be much displeased at what they were about to do, since Darnley had not only frequently betrayed her interests, but had likewise inflicted many affronts and injuries upon her."<sup>3</sup> From the account it would seem that Bothwell was the one to hang back, rather than being, as is usually asserted, the prime mover in the affair. The trial of Bothwell, who denied his complicity, followed, and the Earl of Argyll

<sup>1</sup> Keith, III, 568, note and "Supplication." Knox, *Hist*, cf. Herkless and Hannay. *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, V, 181, 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Bishop Leslie's Narrative*. Forbes Leith. *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*.



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as president of court, declared him to be innocent. This decision was entered on the public records and attested by the signature of all the members of the court.<sup>1</sup> In the Parliament of April, 1567, the sentence acquitting Bothwell was confirmed by the three estates of the realm."<sup>2</sup>

Whatever were Mary's reasons for marrying Bothwell—Sir James Melville, who had been taken prisoner with her when Bothwell intercepted her on the way from Stirling to Edinburgh, declared that "such violence was used to her that she had no longer a choice,"—there is no proof that she believed him guilty of her husband's murder. Bothwell was a man of loose life, unscrupulous, and of boundless ambition, but he was no traitor. He had stood by the Queen when everyone else whom she trusted had deserted her, he was brave and fearless, and was, according to Leslie, to whom he was personally known, "endowed with great bodily strength and masculine beauty."<sup>3</sup> "In one respect," says Fraser Tytler,<sup>4</sup> "he was certainly better than many of his brother nobles. There seems to have been little craft or hypocrisy about him, and he made no attempt to conceal his infirmities or vices under the cloak of religion. It is not

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, 210.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. of Scotland.* VII, 46.

unlikely that, for this reason, Mary, who had experienced his fidelity to the crown, was more disposed to trust him in any difficulty than those stern and fanatical leaders, who, with religion on their lips, were often equally indifferent as to the means they employed." Though Bothwell was undoubtedly implicated in the murder, he cannot have been present when the deed was done; the distance between Kirk-o-Field and Holyrood Palace, where Spottiswood affirms that he was found, in bed, when the explosion took place, precludes such a possibility. Spottiswood goes on to state that the Queen sent him to enquire the cause of the explosion. The version of the whole affair as given by Buchanan, which has been taken in good faith by many writers hostile to Mary, is no longer accepted blindly by any fair-minded historian.

Mary's marriage with Bothwell was not only a foolish and unwise act—if she had any choice in the matter—but it was directly contrary to all the principles of her religion. Archbishop Hamilton, says Leslie, together with Lord Seton and other of her trusted advisers, used their utmost efforts to oppose it.<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop was induced to grant a divorce to Bothwell from his wife, the Lady Jean Gordon, on the plea of consanguinity, although it has been asserted that he himself had

<sup>1</sup> *Bishop Leslie's narrative. Narratives of Scottish Catholics,* Forbes Leith,

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granted a dispensation for the marriage. A document which purported to be this very dispensation was discovered among the Sutherland papers, dated February 17th, 1566, "in the seventh year of the Pontificate of our Holy Lord, Pope Pius IV." The fact, that Pius IV had died in the December of 1565, makes the authenticity of the dispensation very questionable. It is impossible to conceive that the Primate of Scotland was not aware of the Pope's death, more especially as Pius IV had been in correspondence with Archbishop Hamilton. He had written several times praising him for his efforts on behalf of the Catholic faith, and urging him to remain true to the Queen.<sup>1</sup> The divorce between Bothwell and the Countess on the ground of consanguinity, both on the father's and mother's side, is to be found among the Hamilton papers.<sup>2</sup>

The marriage ceremony between Mary and Bothwell was performed by the Protestant Bishop of Orkney and the minister of Edinburgh, John Craig, who declared later that he had acted under protest. Du Croc, the French ambassador, who had tried in vain to dissuade the Queen from this fatal step, refused to be present, but went unofficially to visit Mary the day after the marriage. He was struck with her manner towards her husband,

<sup>1</sup> *Papal Negotiations*. Pollen, 181, 185.

<sup>2</sup> *Historie of the Reformation*, II, 520.



which she, remarking, told him that he must not be surprised if he saw her sorrowful, for that she could never rejoice again. All that she desired was death.<sup>1</sup> This was in the presence of Bothwell. Those who were about her, he says, told him that they feared she would become desperate, unless God helped her.<sup>2</sup>

The sequel is known to everyone. The denunciation of the marriage by those who had done their best to forward it; the betrayal of Lethington; the arrival of Moray from England, where he had been pulling the strings of the conspiracy, the mustering of the Regent's army, the flight to Dunbar, the defeat at Carberry Hill, Mary's imprisonment at Lochleven, and the forced abdication. Through all these events, the Hamiltons had been the staunchest supporters of their queen, and the Archbishop her chief adviser. He had besought her earnestly not to risk a battle at Carberry, but to wait a few days, until her loyal subjects had time to rally to her defence. He it was, who, together with Leslie, Bishop of Ross, and Huntly, wrote to Archbishop Beton in Paris, telling him of the events which had led to the Queen's imprisonment, assuring him that they and others of her faithful subjects would assemble for her relief. He headed the faction which assembled

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Du Croc to the Queen-Mother of France. May 18th, 1547, *cf. Queens of Scotland*. Strickland V.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



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at Hamilton, to sign a bond declaring themselves ready to risk their lives for the liberty of their Queen, and when her abdication had been extorted from her under compulsion, they formally protested against the act. "The Lords at Hamilton," says Keith<sup>1</sup> "endeavoured to draw over as many lords and barons as they possibly could, to stand up for the Queen's right and authority, and these now began to obtain the name of the Queen's Lords."

In the Parliament of August, 1567, when "the noble and mighty Lord James, Earl of Moray receivit and accepted upon him the Office of Regentrie,"<sup>2</sup> and swore solemnly "to serve the Eternal God to the uttermost of his powers," and to "command and secure that justice and equity be kept to all creatures without exception," the Hamiltons refused to be present. On the escape of the Queen from Lochleven, they rallied strongly to her side, and after the disastrous battle of Langside, when Mary had taken the fatal resolution of seeking the help and protection of Elizabeth, the Archbishop entreated her to give up the idea of placing herself in the power of one who had so often before deceived her. "John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews," says Nau<sup>3</sup> "was among the party

<sup>1</sup> *Church and State, Book II, 436.*

<sup>2</sup> Moray's acceptance of the Regency. Keith II. 453.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs of Mary Queen of Scots, 128.*

which was with her, and did not scruple to speak of this plan as an act of madness, since she could never expect to receive from the Queen of England aught that would be for the benefit of herself or her kingdom. He told her that close at hand were large bodies of men hurrying to join her by forced marches." But Mary seems to have lost her nerve, and the prospect of another imprisonment at Lochleven filled her with terror. She crossed the Solway in a fishing boat, the Archbishop wading after her into the water in one last effort to dissuade her from her project. His entreaties were in vain, and the unfortunate Queen took the fatal step which was to lead to life-long imprisonment and death.

"Upon the 19th day of August," says the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, "James Earl of Moray, passed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh and forfeited John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, John, Bishop of Ross, and many of the Hamiltons—all favourers of the Queen."

In this way the Regent took summary vengeance on the Hamiltons, and all who had upheld the cause of the captive Queen. "My Lord Regent," says the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, "caused charge all and sundry barons and gentlemen who assisted the Queen's Majesty in the battle to deliver their places and houses to him under pain of treason, to whom the same were delivered, and also summoned the whole gentlemen thereof to compear before him and the Lords of Secret Council under the said pain : and disposed of the

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escheats of the persons who had been in the battle to the people who were with him, where-through the hail poor commons being with the Queen's grace were all utterly hereit. In July of the same year (1568) John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, John, Bishop of Ross, etc., with divers other kirkmen, for non-compearance before the Lord Regent, were denounced rebels and put to the horn at the Market Place of Edinburgh."<sup>1</sup> "Upon the 18th day of May, 1569, James, Earl of Moray, Regent, passed to the north to subdue George, Earl of Huntly, the Queen's lieutenant. He went to Aberdeen, where he summoned all who took part with Huntly to underly the law, for such crimes as were by them committed. And because they durst not underly the law, they composit with his Grace for great sums of money." The same process went on in Elgin and Inverness, but they could not pay, for "there was never seen nor heard of in this realm in times bygone that such mean gentlemen paid such great sums of money as they did."<sup>2</sup> By way of diversion, on this journey to the north, the Regent "caused burn certain witches in St. Andrews, and in his returning, caused burn another company of witches in Dundee."<sup>3</sup>

Among those who had been taken prisoner at Langside was a certain James Hamilton of

<sup>1</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



Bothwellhaugh, a gentleman of good family, who had been sentenced to be hanged, but had succeeded in making his escape.<sup>1</sup> He was accordingly forfeited, and his estate of Bothwellhaugh given by Moray to one of his own party. Hamilton's wife, who was about to become a mother, retired to the small estate of Woodhouselee, her own property, which she believed to be exempt from the forfeiture, and there her baby was born. The Regent, however, had gifted Woodhouselee to Sir John Bellenden, Justice clerk, who took possession of the house, one bitterly cold evening, turning out its mistress in a state of semi-nakedness into the open fields, where she was found next morning raving mad.<sup>2</sup> "If ever revenge could meet with sympathy," says Fraser Tytler, "it would be in so atrocious a case as this, and from that moment Bothwellhaugh resolved on Moray's death. The murder was effected with deliberate purpose and careful planning of detail, Moray being shot through the body on the 23rd of January, 1569-70, as he rode down the High Street at Linlithgow. His death was a serious blow to the projects of Elizabeth, who immediately dispatched Randolph to Scotland to "sow the seeds of disquiet and confusion"<sup>3</sup> and used all her influence to get

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*. David Craufurd, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Tytler. *Hist.* VII, 251.

<sup>3</sup> Tytler VII, 259.



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Lennox, the mortal enemy of the Hamiltons, appointed Regent. The Hamiltons, with the Queen's party, who gathered in force on the news of the death of the Regent, would certainly have prevailed, had it not been for the aid given by England to their enemies. Sussex, at the head of 7000 men, was commanded by Elizabeth to advance into Scotland, the passage of his army being marked by flaming villages and homesteads, while Lennox and Drury, Marshall of Berwick, were ordered to repair to the capital and avenge the death of the Regent upon the house of Hamilton.<sup>1</sup> "It is difficult," says Fraser Tytler, "to regard the intensity of Lennox's vengeance without disgust." In union with Morton and his friend, they began a pitiless devastation of the lands of the Queen's men, and so ruined the houses and estates of the Hamiltons, that the whole clan was reduced to the brink of ruin.<sup>2</sup>

On the forfeiture of the Hamiltons, Moray had given the Archbishop's property of Paisley to the Sempills, who had gone over to his party. After the death of the Regent, Archbishop Hamilton returned to Paisley, and Lennox accused him to the English Queen of having violated the place. Hamilton, now an old man, wrote a touching letter justifying his action. The place, he said, was his own, for he had had

<sup>1</sup> Tytler VII, 268, 270.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 271.

it these forty-five years, and, it was standing waste, and no man in it, but only a boy that had the key of the gate.<sup>1</sup> His servants did no violence to any man ; he had entered into his own place without any trouble. The report that he had been holding courts in his Queen's name, was, he declared false, "for I was not there these three years and mair."<sup>2</sup>

Not long before, he had reminded Elizabeth that, when Moray had summoned the Parliament for the forfeiture of his clan, they had appealed to her, their sovereign being in her hands, and that she had taken on her that "no Parliament should be held, or anything done to any man's hurt." And that when, in spite of her promise, the Parliament had been held, and they had complained once more to her, she had replied that the said forfeiture should not take effect "nor be to their hurt na mair nor it had never been." All that they had suffered had been against her own promise.

Lennox now besieged the abbey with a large force, and the Archbishop, with others of his family, took refuge in the castle of Dumbarton, held by the Queen's party.<sup>3</sup> "On the second of

<sup>1</sup>"The Hamiltons have taken Paisley without stroke or contradiction, which the Lord Sempill had of late the use of." *State Papers*. Drury to Cecil. C.f. *The Abbey of Paisley, Appendix*.

<sup>2</sup>Archbishop Hamilton to Queen Elizabeth. C.f. *Abbey of Paisley*. Cameron Lees 201.

<sup>3</sup>*Abbey of Paisley*, XXXI.

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April, 1571," says the *Diurnal of Occurrents* "John Cunningham of Dumquhassil etc. with men of war, went to Dumbarton and took the castle, which was delivered through the treason of one John Robisone, who had been watchman there of old, and knew all the secret passages, and who betrayed it for money." The Archbishop who was among the prisoners, was brought to Stirling, where he was drawn backwards on a sled through the town as a traitor.<sup>1</sup> He demanded a fair trial, but this was refused him, for Lennox had determined that he should be put to death without delay. Accused of having been party to Danrley's murder and of other crimes, he denied all the charges,<sup>2</sup> asserting that the only crime that could be proved against him was his fidelity to the Catholic religion and to his lawful Queen.<sup>3</sup>

Finding that they were resolved upon his ruin, says Craufurd, "the Archbishop behaved himself with that ingenuity, moderation and courage, which became his office. He was suddenly sentenced to be hanged, and as hastily executed upon the common score of rebellion against the king, of which the greatest half of the nation was guilty." <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lindsay of Pitscottie. C.f. *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, Herkless and Hannay, 235.

<sup>2</sup> Bellesheim. *History of Catholic Church in Scotland*, II, 124.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*. David Craufurd, p. 175.



He asked for a Catholic priest, which request was denied, "And so he continued to the death in his Papistrie as he had lived," exhorting those who were near the scaffold to abide in the Catholic Faith."<sup>1</sup> "As the bell struck six hours at even, he was hangit at the mercat cross of Stirling upon the gibbet."<sup>2</sup>

Archbishop Hamilton was no saint; there had been irregularities in his earlier life, though these have been much exaggerated by his enemies, and he took too great a part in the political movements of his age. But, at the cost of fortune, honour and life, he had been faithful to his Church and to his queen—and he had suffered much. Perhaps on that April evening, when the last consolations of religion having been refused him, the old man was led out, clad in his

<sup>1</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents*. "He desired some Papist priest, to whom he might confess himself, and of whom he might receive consolation and absolution of his sins, according to the order of the Church." Buchanan.

<sup>2</sup> Buchanan, *C.f. Abbey of Paisley*. Cameron Lees, 240. No record has been preserved of the proceedings against Archbishop Hamilton. Buchanan's story of his complicity in the murder of Darnley is contradicted by the same writer in his *Detectio*. Neither is there any trustworthy evidence in support of the assertion that he confessed on the scaffold that he knew of the Regent's murder and did not stop it. Belle-sheim. *Hist. of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, 214, 215. Herries. *Memoirs*. Buchanan and Calderwood, of course assert his guilt. If the assertion is true and Hamilton did declare that he knew of Moray's murder and did not hinder it, "for which he asked God's mercy," he was guilty of Moray's death in the same degree as was Knox of Rizzio's.



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pontifical vestments, to a traitor's death, there may have been on his lips the beautiful prayer from the Catechism that bears his name, asking to be delivered from sedition, battle, prison, banishment, and sudden and unprovided death :

“When it shall please Thee to send any of these to us for our probation and just correction, give us also patience, comfort and consolation, that we may be in this world so corrected and punished with Thy merciful Hand, that we may escape the pains eternal.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism.* Ed. Law. Preface to the Salutation of the Angel Gabriel, p. 270.

## CHAPTER VII

JOHN LESLIE, BISHOP OF ROSS

“A man of great talents and restless intrigue.”

Fraser Tytler.

“He deserves the highest praise, not only for his learning and ability, but for his zeal, piety and worth, and for his uniform, unswerving attachment to the religious and political principles which he maintained.

Grub. *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.*

“At a time when all the world had deserted Mary Stuart,” says Skelton, “the Catholic Church had remained true.”<sup>1</sup> Until his violent death in 1571 Archbishop Hamilton had been the life and leader of the Queen’s party in Scotland, while John Leslie, as her agent and ambassador in England, fought with indefatigable skill and energy an uneven battle against her enemies in both countries.

Born in 1526, and educated at the newly founded University of Aberdeen, Leslie, at the age of seventeen, gave such remarkable promise of intelligence and ability that “certain good and loving friends,”<sup>2</sup> among whom were Henry Sinclair,

<sup>1</sup> *Defence of Mary Stuart.* John Skelton.

<sup>2</sup> *Negotiations, Leslie. Preface, Anderson’s Collections.* Vol. III.

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President of the College of Justice, Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, and the Earl of Huntly, Chancellor of the kingdom, advised him to take up the study of law, in order that he might be able to use his talents to the best advantage in the service of his country. He accordingly went to France, and, having studied divinity and languages for a time at the University of Paris, proceeded to Poitiers for a four years course of Civil and Canon Law, after which, returning to Paris, he took his degree and was appointed lecturer at the university. A year later, he was offered a professorship of Canon Law at the university of Aberdeen, and returned to his native country, where the influential friends before mentioned urged him to accept the position of Senator in the College of Justice. With characteristic modesty, Leslie replied that, since he considered himself wanting in the experience necessary for so important a post, he would prefer to begin his public life in some less responsible position. "I did accept," he says <sup>1</sup> "the office of Judicator of the diocese of Aberdene, wherein I travailed ten years, and how I did behave myself therein I report myself to the testimony of the country, for besides the ministration of justice in mine own office, I assisted the Sheriff of the shire with my counsel for execution of justice according to the laws, and employed also other whiles great

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* *Lives of the Scottish Writers.* Irving. *History of Scotland.* Leslie, *Introduction.* (Scottish Text Society).

travails in compounding and agreeing of differences betwixt parties, proceeding either from deadly feuds or other debates for land or goods, which is the right office of a judge, as saith the Jurisconsult." In 1558 he was ordained to the priesthood, and as Parson of Oyne and Mortlach and Canon of the Cathedral of Aberdeen, settled down to congenial work as official of his native diocese.

But the peaceful tenor of Leslie's life in the North was soon to be broken. The storm which heralded the Reformation had already burst, and in the spring of 1559, a disorderly mob of Reformers from Angus and the Mearns fell upon the beautiful old buildings of the town of Aberdeen, destroying and plundering all that came in their way. Thwarted in their attempts to "purge" the university by the courage and presence of mind of the Principal, professors and students, who gathered in force to protect it, they turned to the Cathedral, pillaged the sacristy, hewed the magnificent altar screen in pieces, desecrated the tombs of Bishops Elphinstone and Dunbar, and would have made havoc of the whole building, had not the Earl of Huntly and Leslie of Balquhain, sheriff of the county, with the assistance of John Leslie, succeeded in checking their enthusiasm.

The godly having been successfully routed, life seems to have gone on as usual, until in the January of 1561, complaints were made to the General Assembly that the University of Aberdeen



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was a stronghold of Popery. Principal Anderson, John Leslie and several others of the staff were now summoned to Edinburgh to give account of their conduct in refusing to accept the reformed opinions. Of the controversy which ensued we have two versions which differ considerably. Knox's account, which forms a worthy pendant to Foxe's tale of the Catholic Bishop who "thanked God that he knew neither the Old Testament nor the New," declares that Anderson denied the propitiatory character of the sacrifice of the Mass, while Leslie refused to commit himself on any matter whatever, on the plea that "he knew nothing but volumus and nolumus."<sup>1</sup> Leslie, on the other hand, maintains that, after they had each separately made solemn profession of the Catholic Faith and announced their intention of abiding by it, Anderson answered the objections of Knox and his associates "sae cunningly, constantly and holily, and in sae godly a manner" that those of the Catholics who had been wavering were confirmed in the Faith, and the Reformers silenced.<sup>2</sup> If Leslie is over favourable to his own party, Knox certainly overshoots the mark in representing Leslie as a fool; the outcome of the disputation, moreover, does not quite bear out his statement. These men, who, if we accept Knox's version, can have been

<sup>1</sup> *Historie of the Reformation*. John Knox. II, 138-42.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Scotland*, Leslie. Scottish Text Society. Book X, 449.

worthy of nothing but pity and contempt,<sup>1</sup> were “taken into custody, and put into the prison of Edinburgh, where, after confinement for some time, they found sureties, who were bound in a very great penalty, that they should make their appearance in order to their trial, whenever they should be required : upon which they were at length set at liberty, and returned to Aberdeen.”<sup>2</sup>

Knox cites the disputation as an evidence that the Reformers were ready to listen to the arguments of their adversaries, but it must be confessed that the result of the conference did not tend to encourage Catholics to take advantage of the fact.

A few months later came the news of the death of the young King of France, husband of Mary Stuart, with the rumour that the Queen was about to return to her country. The leaders of the Catholic party, still hopeful that Mary, who had never sanctioned the Acts of the Parliament of 1560, would put down the rebellion and restore the old Faith in Scotland, now held a Convention, at which it was agreed to send John Leslie to France. He was to warn the young Queen against the intrigues of the Lord James, “pro-

<sup>1</sup> Grub speaks of Anderson as a man “distinguished for his learning and virtues,” (*Eccles. Hist. of Scotland*. II. 164.) while the editor of Leslie’s *Hist. of Scotland from the death of James I to 1561*, printed by the Bannatyne Club, alludes to Leslie as “one of the most able and accomplished Scotsmen of the sixteenth century.” (Preliminary Notice.)

<sup>2</sup> Leslie, *Negotiations*.

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moter of all the former seditions in the country," and to suggest that if Mary would consent to land at Aberdeen, a centre of the old Faith, an army of 20,000 of her faithful subjects would convey her in safety to the capital.<sup>1</sup> The proposal was declined by the queen, who "wished for the obedience of all her subjects" but who, recognising in Leslie a man of wisdom and ability, ordered him to remain with her until her return to Scotland. In 1561, by the advice of Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross and President of the Court of Session, she made him Senator of the College of Justice, and in 1565 a member of her Privy Council, in which charges, he tells us, "I travailed according to the knowledge that God had given me, the best I could."<sup>2</sup> On the death of Sinclair, Leslie succeeded him as Bishop of Ross, and a few months later, when Mary issued, under the Great Seal, a Commission to "certain noblemen, prelates and lawyers, granting them, or any six of their number, full power and authority to revise and publish the laws of the realm," he was not only the chief promoter of the enterprise, but an able helper in its execution.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Henryson, under whose superintendence the work was printed, especially commends in his

<sup>1</sup> *History of Scotland*, Leslie. Scottish Text Soc., Book X, 453.

<sup>2</sup> *Negotiations*, Leslie. *Anderson's Collections*, Vol. III.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts and Constitutions of the Realm of Scotland*, Edin., 1566.



## John Leslie, Bishop of Ross 263

preface "ane Reverend father in God, John, Bishop of Ross, Lord of our Sovereign's Secret Council and of her College of Justice, for his suggestion to our Sovereign of this notable purpose, earnestful performing of the said Commission, and care in convening of my Lord's Commissioners, his colleagues, and liberality in the forthsetting<sup>1</sup> of this imprinting."<sup>1</sup>

It was probably at Leslie's suggestion that Mary, as we learn from a letter from Randolph to Cecil, "ordered three days a week for expedition of poor mens' causes, augmenting the Judges' stipends for their attendance, and sitting herself oftentimes for more equity."<sup>2</sup> Nor was this the only way in which the Queen took personal part in the government of her realm. It was her habit to sit in the Council Chamber of Holyrood, "sewing some work or other, while the Lords deliberated among themselves, so that if necessary, she could take part in the discussion."<sup>3</sup>

But the short period of Mary's ascendancy when, according to the French ambassador, Du Croc, the country was more prosperous and peaceful than it had been for years,<sup>4</sup> was drawing to an end. The plot which was to be her ruin

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Keith, II, 250.

<sup>3</sup> Skelton, *Maitland of Lethington*, I, 286.

<sup>4</sup> Du Croc to James Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and Scottish ambassador in Paris, 15th Oct., 1566.



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was slowly ripening, and before a year was past she was a prisoner at Lochleven.

On the defeat of the royal party, Leslie retired to his bishopric, to occupy himself with prayer, study and pastoral work, but not until he had done his utmost for the captive Queen. On June 29th, 1567, at a Convention held in the fortress of Dumbarton, at which were present Lord Fleming, Keeper of the Castle, the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, and the Lords Herries, Crawford and Seton, it was Leslie, together with Archbishop Hamilton, who directed their councils.<sup>1</sup>

“Forasmuch,” runs the bond signed at the close of the deliberations, “considering the Queen’s Majesty, our Sovereign, to be detained at present at Lochleven in captivity, wherefore the most part of Her Majesty’s Lieges cannot have free access to Her Highness, and seeing it becomes us of our duty to seek her liberty and freedom ; we, Earls, Lords, and Barons, under subscribing, promise faithfully to use the utmost of our endeavours by all reasonable means, to procure Her Majesty’s liberty and freedom, upon such honest conditions as may stand with Her Majesty’s honour, the common weal of the whole realm, and security of the whole nobility, who at present have Her Majesty in keeping. . . And in case the noblemen who have Her Majesty at present in their hands, refuse to set her at liberty upon such reasonable conditions as said is ; in

<sup>1</sup> Keith, II, 436.

that case we shall employ ourselves, our kindred, friends, servants, and partakers, our bodies and lives, to set Her Highness at liberty, as said is ; and also to concur to the punishment of the murder of the King, Her Majesty's husband, and for sure preservation of the person of the prince ; as we shall answer to God, and on our honours and credit : and to that effect shall concur every one with other at our utmost power."<sup>1</sup>

Moray and his associates were well aware that their position was precarious. The General Assembly which met early in December, issued a petition "most humbly desiring the Lord Regent and Estates of Parliament to open and make manifest to them and to the people the cause of the detention of the Queen's Grace in the said house," (Lochleven), "or else to put her to liberty forth of the same." Nor were the commons slow to follow their example. A few days before the meeting of Moray's first Parliament a list of unpleasant questions "to be resolvit by the Lords of the Articles," was affixed by an unknown hand in a prominent position.

1. "If the Queen's Grace be guilty of the King's slaughter," runs this document, "taken therefore, so found and discerned, if the Prince may succeed to a traitress ?

2. If the Queen be guilty of the same crime, and so discerned, she being imprisoned as sus-

<sup>1</sup> Keith, II, 436.

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pected thereof, if anything done by her may be of effect?

3. If she, being culpable of the said crime and imprisoned therefor, might demit her crown or make a Regent?

4. If the Prince succeed to the crown by cutting off of his mother, or by her title, who should be his tutor or governor?

5. If the crown succeed to the Prince on his mother's side, why is the Duke Hamilton debarred from his tutorship and governance?

6. If treason should be punished equally on art partakers and counsellors, why should any known to be incriminated be overseen, unpunished, and all laid upon one?

7. Why John Hepburne and John Hay of Tallo are not openly compelled to declare the manner of the King's slaughter, and who consented thereto and were thereat?

Since the Ministers should have so many articles absolvit, the blind commons would have these questions discussed.<sup>1</sup>

In order to ensure the support of the Kirk at this difficult moment, Moray promised Knox to recognise the Acts of the Parliament of 1560, never ratified by Mary, which made it legal to put down "idolatry" by force of arms if necessary. On this condition the Reformer

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson, *Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary*. Selections from unpublished MSS., illustrating the reign of Mary, Queen of Scotland. Maitland Club, "Questions to be absolvit by the Lords of the Articles, Dec., 1567."



agreed to uphold the Regent's party with all the force of his influence.<sup>1</sup> But it was necessary in the meantime to have some plausible answer ready, by which the imprisonment of the Queen might be explained, if not justified. To this end a Council extraordinary was held by the Regent, at which none were present but those of his own party, and at which the resolution was taken to accuse the Queen directly of the murder of her husband. The councillors numbered Sir James Balfour, who had drawn up the bond for the assassination of Darnley, Lethington, who had signed it, the Earl of Morton, who was executed fourteen years later as an accomplice in the crime, the traitor Balnaves, and the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, who, by the fear of death, had compelled Mary to sign the deeds of abdication which gave the regency into Moray's hands<sup>2</sup> and who had forced the keeper of the privy seal by threats and violence, to affix it to the documents.<sup>3</sup>

If some of the members of the Kirk had questioned the justice of Mary's imprisonment, Knox was not among their number. On her escape from Lochleven he threatened "the great plague of God to the whole nation and country, if the Queen be spared from her condign punishment," and his hand is to be traced in the

<sup>1</sup> Tytler VII, 120.

<sup>2</sup> Grub. *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* II, 159.

<sup>3</sup> Tytler VII, 137.



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“Admonition” addressed about the same time, by Spottiswood, Superintendent of Lothian, to “all that profess the Lord Jesus.” “We see a wicked woman, whose iniquity known and lawfully convicted,<sup>1</sup> deserved more than ten deaths, escaped from prison. . . If she had suffered according as God’s Law commandeth Murderers and Adulterers to die the death, the wickedness taken forth from Israel, the plague should have ceased ; which cannot but remain so long as that innocent blood traitorously shed, is not punished. And so I fear not to affirm that the reservation of that wicked woman, against God and against the voices of His servants, is the first and principal cause of the Plague and Murder lately begun.”<sup>2</sup> He upbraids bitterly those of the reformed religion who have remained true to their Queen, “Albeit that the devil himself had been loosed, (as no doubt he was), in the person of that most wicked woman, yet could not he or she greatly have troubled this Commonwealth, unless she had been assisted by the presence, counsel and force of such as have professed the Lord Jesus, and by all appearance had renounced that Roman Anti-Christ and his damnable superstition. The consideration of this most treasonable defection from God, from His Truth professed, and from the Authority most lawfully

<sup>1</sup> Mary had never been lawfully convicted, unless the accusation of her enemies was to be considered a conviction.

<sup>2</sup> Keith II, 591.

established, causeth the hearts of many godly to sob and mourn." He urges them, "in the bowels of Christ Jesus," to deeply consider their fearful defection from God, assuring them that if they remain obstinate in their wicked enterprise, "we will be forced (albeit with grief of heart) to draw the sword committed to us by God, and to cut them off from all society of the Body of Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup>

In the May of 1568 Mary escaped from Lochleven, and was instantly joined by a large portion of the nobility. Anxious to avoid the miseries of a civil war, she sent a message to Moray, offering, even now, reconciliation and forgiveness, if he would return to his allegiance. Although the Regent had no intention whatever of returning to his allegiance, the offer was opportune, for the pretence that he was deliberating on Mary's proposal gave him time to collect a formidable army and to issue a proclamation declaring his intention of "upholding the King's government,"—in other words his own. The delay was fatal to the cause of the Queen; the disastrous battle of Langside ensued and Mary Stuart crossed the Border to avail herself of Elizabeth's oft repeated promises of help and friendship.

Received at first with courtesy, and assured that the English Queen would befriend her and restore her to her throne if she refrained from seeking the help of other foreign powers, Mary

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 592.

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was full of hope as to the future, but it soon became evident that she was regarded rather as a prisoner than as a guest. In a touching letter to Elizabeth, in which she reminded her of her promises, the Scottish Queen begged to be allowed to see her personally, that she might speak to her of the wrongs she had suffered and clear herself of the crimes laid to her charge. If this should be denied, let her at least be permitted to leave England, to seek in other countries the help she so sorely needed. Why was she kept a prisoner at Carlisle, when her coming into the country was a voluntary act, by which she had shown her confidence in the friendship which Elizabeth had continually protested, by letters, messages and other tokens?

Although delighted at the chance which had thrown Mary into their power, Elizabeth and her ministers were in a decidedly awkward position. If Mary were allowed to return to Scotland, Moray and his party—all those in fact who were the friends of England and acting in English interests—would lose their influence. If she went to France, it would mean the revival of the old French alliance. If she were admitted to the presence of Elizabeth, to plead her wrongs and the treachery of her enemies, it might prove dangerous, not only to Moray and his party, but to their friends in the English Cabinet. On the other hand, her imprisonment was creating a bad impression in the country, foreign ambassadors were openly voicing their disapproval, and Knollys



himself, writing from Carlisle, declared to Cecil that the better course would be either to grant Mary the assistance she required or to set her free, her imprisonment being a manifest wrong and a flagrant breach of the common principles of law and justice.<sup>1</sup>

But Cecil, Mary's persistent enemy, was determined that no principle of law or justice should interfere with his plans. Her entreaty to be allowed to plead her cause before Elizabeth was refused, on the ground that it was unbecoming for "a maiden Queen" to admit into her presence a woman charged with foul and horrible crimes, while her request to leave the country was at first eluded and then refused. She was removed from Carlisle, where nominally at least she had been free, to Bolton Castle, where she was actually a prisoner.

To make some show of justice, Cecil now proposed that an investigation should be made into the conduct of Moray and his adherents, who, if able to justify themselves before commissioners appointed by the Queen of England, should be allowed to retain their honours and estates, but, failing to do so, were to be handed over to the justice of their sovereign. Mary was made to believe that the object of these negotiations was to promote a reconciliation with her subjects and restore her to the throne,

<sup>1</sup> Knollys to Cecil. Carlisle, June 2nd. 1568. Anderson IV, Part I. Tytler VII. 183.



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while Moray was privately assured that if he could prove his sister guilty she would be kept in prison.<sup>1</sup>

Against the advice of the Bishop of Ross, who had been sent for to join her at Bolton, Mary agreed to this proposal, naming Leslie, with the Lords Herries and Boyd, her chief commissioners. The representatives appointed by Elizabeth to hear the case were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex and Sir Ralph Sadler. Against the appointment of the last, as one "who had at all times acted as her enemy," Mary vainly protested.

In Scotland matters had reached a crisis. The lukewarmness of the Regent in bringing the murderers of Darnley to justice was arousing comment; the fact that he had associated with himself, in the most important matters of the government, the notorious Sir James Balfour, by his own confession an accomplice in the crime, did not tend to improve matters, while the prospect of another parliament, with the usual proscriptions and forfeitures, united the Regent's enemies in a final effort to free the country from his rule. Successful in the north and in the west, they were marching southwards, when a message from Mary, full of hope that the approaching conference would set everything right, bade them cease hostilities. This, they refused to

<sup>1</sup> Tytler VII, 191. Lingard VI, 89. Anderson III. *Negotiations*, Leslie. Anderson IV, Part I pp. 9, 11, Part II, p. 11.

do, until they had received, through their Queen, Elizabeth's promise that she would allow no measures to be taken against them at the approaching parliament.<sup>1</sup> The promise was not kept. Scarcely were his enemies dispersed, when Moray summoned the Parliament, forfeited and branded as traitors Archbishop Hamilton and Bishop Leslie, together with many other devoted adherents of the Queen and, anticipating the revenge of the men whom he had cheated, marched northwards with a large army.<sup>2</sup> His triumphal progress was arrested by a mandate from Elizabeth, ordering him to send commissioners, or to go himself to York to answer for his conduct to his sovereign. Much as Moray disliked the prospect, he did not dare to disobey, and taking with him Morton, Lindsay, Lethington and several others, whom he did not think it safe to leave behind, he set out for York.

The Commissioners of Mary opened the proceedings with a clear and emphatic statement of Moray's treachery. He had risen in arms against his Queen, confined her traitorously at Lochleven, and, by threats and intimidation, forced her to resign her crown and appoint him Regent.

Instead of replying, as was expected, by a direct accusation of Mary, Moray went to the English Commissioners and privately offered to show them proofs of her guilt, desiring

<sup>1</sup> Tytler VII, 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

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to know, before he made a public accusation, if Elizabeth and her Council would consider them sufficiently convincing for sentence to be pronounced against her, and would guarantee that she should not be restored to the throne.<sup>1</sup> In order that the cause of this delay might not be suspected by Mary's Commissioners, he gave in a pretended defence, declaring that he had not taken up arms against the Queen, but had only attempted, for her own good, to deliver her out of the hands of Bothwell, the murderer of her husband. If they had been obliged to "sequester" her, it was only because she had refused to give him up. As to her abdication, they had accepted, not extorted it, it had been given of her own free will.

To these feeble excuses, Mary's Commissioners returned a triumphant reply. The acquittal of Bothwell by the Lords, their formal request to the Queen to accept him as her husband, the subsequent insurrection, and Mary's attestation on oath that the fear of death alone had compelled her to sign the act of abdication sufficiently refuted Moray's plea.

If the aim of the English Council had been, as asserted, to make an investigation into the conduct of Moray and his associates, Mary's Commissioners were now in a position to claim the victory. But Cecil was not so easily defeated ; both he and his royal mistress were determined

<sup>1</sup> Lingard VI. 90. Tytler VII, 198.



that Moray should openly accuse Mary of the murder of her husband. Urging, therefore, that York was too far from London to allow of a speedy settlement of the affair, they adjourned the conference to Westminster.

The Commissioners of the Queen of Scotland agreed to this adjournment, but only on the express condition that Moray should not be admitted to Elizabeth's presence. Since this privilege had been refused to their mistress, they argued, it was unfitting that it should be granted to her adversaries. The promise was given and immediately broken. Moray was received by Elizabeth, and after a prolonged audience, openly accused his sister of the murder of her husband and of an attempt to murder her son.<sup>1</sup> Mary's indignant answer was to bid her representatives require, in the presence of the English nobles and foreign ambassadors, that she should be confronted, before them all, with her accusers, in order that she might prove her innocence and their guilt. Unable to obtain any answer to this request, Leslie made an indignant protest, declaring that every principle of reason and justice demanded that the accused should be confronted with the accuser.

The English Commissioners—they had been increased to eight—somewhat shaken by this intrepid demand—proceeded to consult eminent jurists, who decided in favour of Mary. They declared that, in justice, her request ought to be

<sup>1</sup> Lingard VI. 92. Leslie. *Negotiations*. Anderson III, 29.



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granted, for if it were denied, exception might be taken later to the legality of the proceedings.<sup>1</sup> Their decision was backed up by six out of the eight English Commissioners.

But, though the decision had gone against him, Cecil had no intention of yielding; all entreaties were met with the statement that Mary's demand was not consistent with the wishes of Elizabeth, and could not be granted. The Scottish Commissioners, justly indignant, declared the conference at an end,<sup>2</sup> but neither was this to Cecil's liking. He was determined that the negotiations should not be broken off before Moray had had time to produce his proofs, and, on the pretext that Mary's Commissioners had misrepresented the answer of Elizabeth, he refused to accept their decision.<sup>3</sup> The interval thus gained was employed by Moray in exhibiting publicly the letters and other papers which had been shown secretly to the Commissioners at York. Mary declared the famous "casket letters" and the other documents to be traitorous falsehoods, by which her enemies had imputed to her a crime of which they themselves were guilty.<sup>4</sup> Her Commissioners

<sup>1</sup> Despatch of La Mothe Fénelon to the Queen Mother. Nov. 22nd, 1568, *cf.* Bellesheim, III, 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Negotiations*. Leslie, Anderson, III, 31, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Lingard VI, 93, Goodall II, 206, 226. Tytler, VII, 212.

<sup>4</sup> Lingard VI, 94, Goodall, II, 274, 293.

claimed the right to inspect both the copies and the originals, said to have been written by the Queen herself, and declared that their mistress would pledge herself to give such an answer as should triumphantly establish her innocence.<sup>1</sup>

The request was embarrassing, and it required all the skill of Cecil to evade it. That he was obliged to evade it is evident from his persistent refusal to let the letters be seen by anyone outside the Council. If the letters were genuine, to show them was to prove Mary's guilt, which he was anxious above all things to do, to justify his own policy, and to clear himself and his mistress from the imputation of detaining the Queen of Scotland unlawfully in prison. He refused to show them.

On the 7th of January the Bishop of Ross required an audience of the English Queen, when he repeated Mary's request in still more emphatic terms. His mistress required, in common justice, to see the letters, or at least copies of them, that she might prove the producers to be themselves the principal authors of the murder, and expose them to all Christian Princes as liars and traitors. Elizabeth, now in desperation, proposed that Mary should voluntarily resign her crown, to which Leslie replied that she had commissioned him to declare that she would never consent to do so. She was ready and willing to defend herself, if allowed to see the evidence against her, and was prepared to

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, VI, 96.

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entertain any honourable proposal by which her disobedient subjects might be pardoned. Elizabeth insisted. Could not Leslie use his influence to induce her to reconsider her resolution? He replied that it was useless. Elizabeth then suggested that he should confer with her Council. He did so, but only to reiterate his mistress's demand.

The situation was now at a deadlock. For reasons of their own Elizabeth and her councillors were determined that neither Mary nor her Commissioners should be allowed to see either the "originals" of the letters or copies of them. Mary's demand, on the other hand, had been admitted to be right and just by men distinguished for their knowledge and equity. It was an awkward combination of circumstances, but Cecil was a man of resource.

A few days later Moray was summoned before the Privy Council. The final decision of Elizabeth, said Cecil, was that nothing had as yet been brought forward against him or his adherents that impaired their honour or allegiance! On the other hand nothing had been produced by them against their Sovereign which could cause the English Queen to "conceive an ill opinion of her good sister." Moray was at liberty to return to Scotland and to take his "originals" with him. The copies would remain in the possession of Cecil.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lingard VI, 95. Tytler, VII, 216.



With this contradictory statement, described by Tytler as "the most absurd judicial opinion ever left upon record," the famous conference came to an end. It was a tacit admission that the "casket letters could not be considered seriously, even by Mary's bitterest enemies." But if both parties were declared innocent, why was the Regent at liberty to depart and the Queen of Scotland detained in prison? This was the question put by the Bishop of Ross to the Privy Council of England. The whole proceedings, he declared indignantly, from first to last, had been partial and unjust. If Elizabeth was really desirous that Mary should clear herself from the accusations brought against her, why was she not given the opportunity to do so? Why were not her adversaries detained in the country until she had had time and the necessary facilities to refute their charges? To Leslie's spirited protest Cecil replied coldly that Moray had promised to return when called for! He omitted to mention however, that the Regent had left the country with five thousand pounds from the English Treasury in his pocket,<sup>1</sup> the reward of his services to Cecil. The Scottish Commissioners were informed that they also would probably, in time, be allowed to return to their country, but for various weighty reasons, the Queen of Scotland

<sup>1</sup> See Bellesheim, note, p. 210 Vol. III. *Negotiations* Leslie, p. 40, and Moray's receipt for the money in Rymer's *Fœdera*, XV, p. 677.



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could not be suffered to leave England. With this "iniquitous sentence"<sup>1</sup> the Commissioners were obliged to be content.

If the conference had accomplished nothing more, it had at least served to convince Cecil and his mistress that, in the Bishop of Ross, Mary had an able and resolute defender. Within a few days of the ending of the negotiations he was seized, together with the Lord Boyd, and imprisoned for three months at Burton-on-Trent, on the charge of having concerted a plan for the escape of the Queen of Scots. If Cecil could have had his way Leslie might have remained in prison indefinitely, but as no particle of proof could be found against him, he was set at liberty, and immediately afterwards sent by his mistress to London as her ambassador at the Court of Elizabeth. While he was engaged in fresh negotiations with the English government on Mary's behalf, he tells us, a messenger from home "brought me word that the Earl of Moray had taken my house of Ross from my servants, and meddled with my whole benefices and all that I had in Scotland, and had said to my friends that he would cause me leave my ambassade for poverty; which he intended should take effect, for he put Andrew Monrowe, his servant, in my house at Ross, who had spoiled it before and slain some of my servants in it since my coming into England, and taken up my whole fruits in it since that time.

<sup>1</sup> Tytler VII, 217.

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And further, the Earl would not suffer any of my friends or merchants to make me any furnishings ; and he did well foresee that the Queen, my mistress, might not support her own necessity, nor yet my charges, at that time a great strait ; for he took up her whole rents in Scotland, and the Prince of Condé's army was lying there at Poitiers and Tours, where the most part of her dowry in France consists, and by that means she could get none of it, so that truly we were driven to a great strait."<sup>1</sup>

The "ambassade" was not a bed of roses. "What is more perilous," asks Leslie in the preface to his *Negotiations*, "than to be sent to the presence of that Prince that either is an enemy, or at least bears no good will, there to propound unpleasant messages, to desire ungrateful demands, to receive proud and high answers, and to give the like. To be dismissed with contempt, to ask restitution of prisoners, and in the meantime to search and discover their counsels, to decline and evert their deliberations, frauds and double dealings, to overthrow their deceitful practices and designs? "

The French ambassador, to whom he applied for aid, was unable to help him, the French king being at war, but the Duke of Alva, ambassador of Spain, furnished him with a thousand crowns. Part of this was given to the garrison at Dumbarton, sadly in need of help, part sent to

<sup>1</sup> *Negotiations*, Leslie 74.

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the Queen for her own needs, and the rest devoted to the expenses of the embassy. - Nor did Leslie obtain any further supply while he was ambassador in England.

Elizabeth, however, was ready to furnish him with free quarters. In the December of 1569, the Earl of Moray sent an envoy to England to suggest that Mary should be given into his hands in exchange for the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, then imprisoned in Scotland. Such a convenient way of ridding themselves of their prisoner must have appealed strongly to both Elizabeth and Cecil, but the negotiations, though carried on secretly, were detected by the vigilant eye of the Bishop of Ross, who, enlisting the ambassadors of France and Spain on Mary's behalf, protested vigorously against a proceeding which, he declared, would be tantamount to signing his mistress's death warrant. The protest was not without effect, and Moray, apprehensive of the failure of his scheme, accused Leslie of being implicated in the late rebellion.<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Ross was now committed to prison in the house of the Bishop of London, where, he says, "I was straitly kept for four months, which the Earl procured principally against me that no stumbling block should be cast in his way by my labours to impeach the delivery of the Queen of Scots' person into his hands."<sup>2</sup> He had however

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*.



saved his Queen. In the face of his indignant and public protest Cecil dared not comply with the Regent's request. The death of Moray put an end to further negotiations.

No sooner was Leslie set at liberty than he busied himself once more in Mary's behalf, representing to the English government the injustice of detaining her in prison, and urging every possible argument in favour of her liberation. The only answer he succeeded in obtaining was that "it would be a piece of dangerous folly to set her at liberty, who by unlawful artifices so openly aspired to the crown of England."<sup>1</sup> On this refusal, the Queen of Scotland, says Leslie, "took purpose to move her cause to other princes, her allies, confederates and friends. For the plots which ensued to set her free, the English government had no one but themselves to blame.

In the Spring of 1571, the Bishop was again in trouble. Several important papers, including his defence of Mary's honour and her right of succession to the throne of England, were seized by English spies, who searched, at Dover, a Flemish servant of the Queen of Scots called Charles Baily. Through Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Leslie succeeded in obtaining possession of the most important of these papers, substituting in their place another packet of the same size and shape. It was reported that Baily, under torture, had confessed the substitution, and

<sup>1</sup> Camden, *Annals of Elizabeth*, 427.



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Leslie, who had received a friendly warning that the Council were determined to "put at" him for the letters, prepared for the worst. His secretary, Cuthbert, who had charge of all his secret writings and ciphers, was sent to France, while, says Leslie, "I set in order all my letters, that nothing might be found which might prejudice any man."<sup>1</sup>

"In the meantime," he writes, "what for intolerable labours and wakings, and what through anguish of mind in respect of the overthwarting of our cause and evil success thereof, I was visited with a vehement sickness and fever." It was at this moment that he received a sudden visit from four members of the Privy Council, who plied him with questions as to Baily's disclosures. Failing to obtain any reply from the sick man, saving that he was responsible to his mistress alone for his actions, they searched for Cuthbert, who was not to be found. All the servants of the Bishop were then removed, save two, left to attend him in his sickness, and two Englishmen, with their own servants, were placed in charge of the house. His papers were searched, but owing to the precautions taken, nothing of any consequence was found. His study was then locked and sealed, and the unwelcome visitors departed.

<sup>1</sup> Baily, though cruelly racked, remained true. He was then offered the ministrations of a Catholic priest, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Owen Hopton, entering in this disguise, heard his confession, which he used against Leslie. *The Tower of London.* R. Davey.

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But Leslie thought it well to remind Cecil that if he had plotted to set his mistress free in England, Randolph, Elizabeth's ambassador to Scotland had plotted in that country without any such excuse.

"On the same day," he writes, "I delivered to my Lord Burghley, copies of certain letters written by Mr. Randolph in Scotland against the Queen of Scots, my mistress, and I complained thereupon." On the 22nd, the Lords of the Council sent him word through his keepers that Randolph—suffering apparently from a convenient lapse of memory—"remembered not that he had written any such letters in Scotland."<sup>1</sup>

On the 14th of May, the Bishop was removed, in a litter, to the Bishop of Ely's house in Holborn. On the 26th he had his fourteenth fit of ague, and "wan a nightcap" from his physician, Dr. Caldwell, who had maintained that the twelfth would be the last. On the 30th he was well enough to dismiss the doctors, and though still "veray feble" was able to take the air in the garden. He began, also, the *History of England* by Polydore Vergil, which he finished on the 16th of June, but before that time had another attack of sickness and was obliged to recall the doctors, "who," he writes, "gave me a potion of medicine which was the most vehement that ever I gat in all my time." This drastic remedy, combined with hot medicated baths, was so far successful that, on the 22nd of June he was able

<sup>1</sup> *Diary of the Bishop of Ross in 1571.*

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to write a long letter to the Queen of England, "for my purgation and her satisfaction," to which he was promised an answer within three days.<sup>1</sup>

As the time passed and no answer was forthcoming, he wrote again to Cecil, requesting him to remind the Queen of her promise and quoting, very aptly, the lines of Horace :

"Ut nox longa, quibus mentitur amica, diesque  
Lenta videtur opus debentibus ; ut piger annus  
Pupillis, quos dura premit custodia matrum."

Neither Cecil nor Elizabeth, however, were to be softened by quotations from Horace, however apt, and towards the end of August Leslie was ordered to accompany the Bishop of Ely to his country house at Fenny Stanton.

Bishop Cox seems to have been a genial soul and a kindly gaoler. "On the 19th of August," writes Leslie, "the Bishop of Lincoln came and dined with the Bishop of Ely, and I dined with them." The three bishops "had conference of many matters," but my Lord of Lincoln complained "that many of his diocese was favourable to the old religion, and would not come to the service."

"On the 23rd Leslie "rade about the meadows, with my Lord of Ely and his servants ; shot at revaris and buttis, and saw the river which runs near by. The Bishop of Ely said to me that I

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*



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might take boat there and pass to Ross, but he believed well I would not do it.”<sup>1</sup>

On the following day he gave the principal hunters a crown among them, “because they killed a buck, and I gat the honour to cut the first cut in his skin, as the use is that the honestest man in the company has it.”

On the 29th of the month arrived Ninian Winzet, whose zeal for learning set the Bishop’s little household in a flame. Leslie began the study of Hebrew, under the tuition of Winzet, “an expert at that language,” Thomas Leslie<sup>2</sup> set to work at the Greek grammar, and Cuthbert Read<sup>3</sup> at Latin, while William Cock, the cook, and Theophilus, the groom, were hard at the alphabet.<sup>4</sup> “Besides this,” says Leslie, “we read every morning and evening two chapters of the New Testament, beginning at the Epistle of the Romans, and going on to the end of the Apocalypse, which we reached on the 8th of October. Thus, everyone being employed in useful study, mental sloth was expelled.”

In September, Leslie was visiting the surrounding country houses, in the company of the Bishop of Ely, and in October, being unwell, was dosed by the Bishop’s wife. He was soon, how-

<sup>1</sup> *Diary of the Bishop of Ross in 1571.*

<sup>2</sup> Leslie’s under secretary.

<sup>3</sup> His confidential servant.

<sup>4</sup> *Diary of the Bishop of Ross.*



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ever, to leave the company of these kindly custodians. The investigation of the alleged acts of treason of the Duke of Norfolk led to the conviction that he was implicated in the plot, and the Bishop of Ely was ordered to bring his prisoner at once to London. There he was "very straitly kept" in the house of the Lord Mayor, until the 24th of October, when six members of the Council, with the Queen's attorney and solicitor-general, came to submit him to another examination. The Queen, their Sovereign, declared the councillors, was determined to consider him no more as an ambassador, but as a private man,—a wicked practiser for a pretended Queen justly deprived of her realm,—a false Scot and a Papist.<sup>1</sup>

To this the Bishop of Ross replied quietly that he had been for four years in England as the accredited ambassador of the Queen of Scots, reputed by all the Princes in Europe as a free Princess, and Queen of Scotland by birth and by right. He had laboured for his mistress's liberty and for the common quietness of both realms, as they themselves could testify. If they were not satisfied with his answers, he was ready to give a full account of his proceedings to his own Queen, who alone had power and authority to correct him if he had done amiss.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Negotiations.* Leslie.

<sup>2</sup> *Negotiations.* Leslie.

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The Queen of England had expected that he would plead the privileges of an ambassador, replied the Councillors, and had consulted learned men on the subject. They had decided that, in spite of her own safe-conduct, she might punish him as a private individual. "I trust," remarked Leslie pointedly, "that I shall not be more hardly dealt with than were Tamworth and Randolph when in Scotland."<sup>1</sup>

After having been threatened with the rack and even with death, if he refused to answer their questions, Leslie was sent to the Tower and placed "in a very evil and infected house (where no man of honest calling had been kept many years before), called the Bloody Tower." "And at my first entrance," he writes, "I was searched in all parts, and such papers and ink as was in my company taken from me, which was another grief. And in this manner I was straitly and closely kept, and no man had recourse to me but only the Lieutenant himself, during the whole time I was a prisoner." The Tower was not a cheerful place of abode, and those who entered it, as Leslie knew, had a way of remaining there, unless a worse fate befell them. He found comfort in prayer, and in the reading of the Scriptures. "To these celestial and most comfortable psalms, (the 7th, 25th, 58th, 100th and 108th,)" he wrote to Mary, "I have

<sup>1</sup>The reader will remember how Randolph, the English ambassador, had been implicated in every plot against Mary.

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had recourse in this my irksome and long imprisonment, seeking with David to hold back my troubled spirit from the last step to desperation, being destitute, as appeareth, of all earthly comfort, and uncertain how long to be suffered to remain in this present life, for that your Majesty, in whom is my greatest trust under God, and those of your faithful nobility, are for the present so troubled, and here disdained, that no care will be given to our just demands for my release.”

It was during this imprisonment in the Tower that Leslie wrote—with a lead pencil between the lines of printed books,—the treatise called “*The Negotiations of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, as Ambassador and Commissioner of Mary Queen of Scots in England.*” He wrote also, for the comfort of the Queen his mistress—sorely in need of comfort at the time—a little book called “*Meditations of a Sorrowful Soul and the Divine Remedy.*”<sup>1</sup>

Soon after Leslie’s committal to the Tower he was again visited by members of the Council, who assured him of Elizabeth’s intention of having him instantly executed if he refused to answer their questions. Assurance having been given in the Queen’s name that nothing he said should be used to the prejudice of others, Leslie replied to the chief charges against him, vindicating throughout the conduct of his mistress, the Duke

<sup>1</sup> *Negotiations.*



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of Norfolk and himself.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the promise given, attempts were made later to induce him to act as witness in the trial of the Duke of Norfolk and to give up to the Council certain letters in his possession, with both of which demands he steadily refused to comply.

On the 10th of January, 1572, the French King having exercised his influence on his behalf, the Bishop of Ross was transferred to Farnham Castle, seat of the Bishop of Winchester. His residence in the Tower, however, cost him dear, for the Lieutenant demanded the sum of two hundred pounds for his maintenance while there, besides keeping as his perquisites everything that Leslie had brought with him for his personal use. To his great joy, he was at last given leave to write to his mistress, and to send her the little book he had composed for her use in prison, from which, she wrote to him, she derived great comfort. She expressed at the same time her sorrow that he had only been transferred from one prison to another.

Of Leslie's stay at Farnham, where he remained for sixteen months, we have no such delightful chronicle as the *Diary* of 1571. While there, he tells us in his *Negotiations*, he devoted himself to prayer and study. And since his little book of meditations had pleased his royal mistress so much that she had whiled away some dreary hours of her prison life in

<sup>1</sup> Lingard VI, 131. *Negotiations* 202-229.



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writing a French poem, embodying her favourite passages from the work, he composed another: *Tranquilli Anima Conservatio et Munimentum*, which he sent to her in the autumn of the following year.<sup>1</sup>

In the April of 1572 an envoy was sent from England to Scotland, on a secret mission, the purport of which was known only to Cecil, Elizabeth and Leicester. The death of Mary was an absolute necessity, it had been decided, but for many reasons it was better that it should be accomplished in Scotland. The envoy, one Killigrew, was to sound the Regent Mar on the matter, but was, above all, to manage his negotiations carefully, so that the suggestion should appear to come from the Scots and not from Elizabeth. If an offer were made, it was to be accepted, but only on security being given that the Queen of Scots should "receive what she deserved."

The Regent was not slow to fall in with Killigrew's wishes; the offer had been made and accepted, the executioner selected,<sup>2</sup> the approval of John Knox secured<sup>3</sup> and assurance given that Mary should not be allowed to live for four hours after she had crossed the Border, when Mar was suddenly struck down by mortal

<sup>1</sup> Both treatises, together with the Queen's poem, were printed at Paris, in 1574.

<sup>2</sup> Tytler VII, 314. Killigrew to Burghley. Sept. 19th, 1572.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 316. Killigrew to Cecil and Leicester, Oct. 6th.

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sickness and died within a few days at Stirling.<sup>1</sup>

The Earl of Morton, who had been a leading spirit in these negotiations, succeeded Mar in the Regency. In the June of 1573 he intimated that he was ready to reconsider the matter which had been so suddenly interrupted by the death of his predecessor, and Killigrew was once more sent to Scotland. He soon discovered, however, that Morton, whose avarice was notorious, was only prepared to undertake the assassination if he were well paid for it. The disinclination of Elizabeth to part with money was well known to her envoy. He wrote to Cecil that he did not think, under the circumstances, it would be of much use for him to remain.<sup>2</sup> "The *great matter*," says Tytler, "was allowed to sleep, and Mary owed her life to the parsimony of Elizabeth and the avarice of the Scottish Regent.

Leslie also had been in danger. While the negotiations were going on with Morton, a certain Captain Cockburn was sent to London, to demand, in the name of the Regent and his adherents, that the Bishop of Ross should be delivered into their hands, to be dealt with "as a person condemned by the Parliament." Leslie, who received a timely warning of what was afoot, now wrote to the English Council, declaring that it would be against reason, honour and good

<sup>1</sup> Murdin, 224, cf Tytler VII, 311-325. Lingard, VI, 140. Letters of Killigrew and Burghley.

<sup>2</sup> Tytler VIII, 8-13.

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conscience, to give him over to the will of his enemies, seeing that he had come into England as the ambassador of a free Princess and had the Queen of England's safe-conduct. His protest was successful; the envoy was sent back with a negative answer, but only to return a few months later to petition that, if Elizabeth still refused to give up the Bishop of Ross, she would at least keep him in prison. This, well as it would have suited the plans of Cecil and Elizabeth, could hardly be done, for, as Leslie himself had reminded them, he was an accredited ambassador, and the law of nations forbade it. In the November of 1573 the Bishop of Winchester was ordered to bring his prisoner to London, it being Her Majesty's pleasure that he should "depart forth of the realm." A few days later Leslie was given his choice of going to Scotland or to France.

To have accepted the former alternative would have been to go to certain death. At a Protestant Convention in the preceding year it had been proposed by the preachers and brethren that all Catholics in the realm should be compelled to recant publicly, or to lose their whole property if they were recalcitrant. If they remained in the country, *all subjects* were to be permitted *lawfully* to put them to death. The proposal was not accepted, and the preachers were happily not permitted, "to disgrace Scotland by a Bartholomew massacre of their own."<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *John Knox and the Reformation*, 269.



proposal, however, was characteristic of the spirit which prevailed, while the petition of Morton showed plainly enough what treatment Leslie was likely to meet with at the hands of the government. He crossed to the Continent, where he employed his time in going from Court to Court in Europe, soliciting help for the unfortunate Queen of Scots. In 1577 he was in Rome, preparing for the press his *History of Scotland*, written during his various imprisonments, and translated later, with many amplifications, into Latin. At the same time he was interesting himself greatly in the foundation and maintenance of the Scots Colleges abroad, in which his young countrymen could acquire the priestly training and the Catholic education denied them in their own land.<sup>1</sup>

At home or abroad, however, ill luck seems to have pursued him. In the year 1578, while travelling through Germany to Prague in the capacity of nuncio to the Emperor Maximilian, he was suddenly arrested by the soldiers of the Protestant Duke of Lichtenstein, who, under the impression that he was the Archbishop of Rossana, the papal legate, imprisoned him for two months in the Castle of Felsburg. In the following year he was appointed vicar-general to the Archbishop of Rouen, and remained for fourteen years in France, devoting himself to the

<sup>1</sup> *Negotiations. Preface. Irving. Lives of the Scottish Writers.*



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duties of the diocese and to the furthering of the Catholic cause in that country.<sup>1</sup>

But even here he was not safe from the hatred of his enemies. Elizabeth, aware of his efforts on Mary Stuart's behalf, and of his intercourse with the Catholics of Scotland, offered the sum of 10,000 pistoles to whoever would deliver him into her hands. The reward was alluring, and Leslie, while engaged on a visitation of the diocese, was intercepted and imprisoned. To avoid being handed over to the tender mercies of the English Queen, he was obliged to pay so large a sum of money to his captors that he had to sell or pledge all he possessed, including his furniture, to realise it.

Although busy with the cares of his charge and with literary work, he still continued to keep up a constant correspondence with his own country, exhorting the Catholics to be true to their Queen and their Faith, and encouraging them by frequent letters, messages and treatises.

There were still men in Scotland who were willing to brave imprisonment, banishment and death by the open declaration of their Faith. These were to be found, not only among the old Catholics, but among men of a younger generation, who, brought up in the tenets of Calvinism, had thought the matter out for themselves and had returned to the faith of their fathers. Foremost among these was Nicol Burne, Professor of

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

Philosophy at the College at St. Leonards in the University of St. Andrews. Having been brought up from his tender age in the doctrines of Calvin he tells us, "he followed them with no less affection and zeal than did the rest." But having taken to the perusal of some Catholic authors, he continues, "it pleased God to illuminate my heart, and let me plainly understand that such doctrine was not that which was preached by Christ and His Apostles, and has ever been maintained by all Christians since their days."

This statement he boldly undertook to defend before the General Assembly, and to that end entered into negotiations with Smeton, Minister of Paisley, who received his proposal honourably "declaring that it was most just and fair," and promising "upon his faith and truth" that Burne should be heard. The judgment was to be pronounced by "three of the most learned of the nobility and three Ministers, chosen by Smeton, together with three Bishops and three men of law, chosen by Burne. The heads of doctrine on which the disputation was to be held were also arranged, in presence of the Master of Ross, together with the lairds of Caldwell, Blackhall and Johnstone, and signed in their presence. No sooner had Burne departed, however, than the faithless Smeton "proceeded with excommunication" against him, sending to Edinburgh with "letters of captione," whereby he was "sought throughout the whole country,

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apprehended, and imprisoned for over three months in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. So the Ministers, in place to have granted me audience in their General Assembly, detained me in strait prison."

From the Tolbooth the unfortunate Burne wrote a letter to the King declaring that his gaolers had tried to starve him, by preventing any of his friends from supplying him with the necessities of life, and when "from extreme danger of famine" he had hung a little purse out of the window of his cell "craving alms for Christ's sake, perceiving the ruth and compassion of godly and charitable people, they had caused cut it down." It was only by an appeal to the Provost and Council of Edinburgh that at last he was allowed to beg sufficient alms to keep him alive. The King apparently interfered, and, "frustrate of his death" the ministers procured his banishment, after which, he declares, they "made false and slanderous accusations against me, spreading a rumour that the conference had taken place and that they had been altogether victorious."

In the following year, he published the *Disputation* in Paris and sent a copy of it to James VI, who was too much occupied in protecting himself against the Kirk, to have leisure or power to protect others.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ane Disputation, concerning the Controvertit Headdis of religion*, By Nicol Burne. Paris, 1st Oct. 1581.



The little book, written in vigorous old Scots, is so exceedingly pithy, its arguments so much to the point, and its reasoning so cogent, that the reader will hardly be surprised at the Ministers' behaviour. His *Thirty-seven Arguments on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, Transubstantiation and the Sacrament of the Altar, proved from Scripture and the Fathers*, are clear and convincing, with a logical grip of the questions at issue which reminds one of Winzet, whose objections to the assumptions of Knox are repeated with equal vigour. "Whereas the Reformer claimed to have been called in the same manner as St. John the Baptist," says Burne, "he privately showed himself to have been called in another manner, by guns and pistols."<sup>1</sup>

Although Nicol Burne had been got rid of, others were evidently following in his footsteps, for in 1583 the General Assembly made a formal complaint to the King that many persons, "from their youth nourished in the Kirk of God, and since fearfully fallen back therefrom and become great runagates and blasphemers of the truth and maintainers of idolatry and that man of sin, the Lieutenant of Satan" were received at court.<sup>2</sup>

The Scottish Catholics, says Lang, "could only hope to escape a grinding persecution by the

<sup>1</sup> *Ane Disputation*, Nicol Burne.

<sup>2</sup> *Book of the Universal Kirk*, 1859. p. 280.



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aid of foreign powers.”<sup>1</sup> It does not seem to have occurred to the historians who blame so severely their dealings with France and Spain, that, in the 16th Century, England was also a foreign power, with whom the Reformers had been dealing in a series of intrigues and plots against the lawful government, which had lasted for over twenty years.

The long and weary imprisonment of Mary Stuart was at last drawing to its close. On the 22nd of November, 1586, she was informed by Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Beal, Clerk to the Privy Council, that she had been condemned to death. They warned her that she need look for no mercy, declaring that her attachment to the Catholic Faith made her life incompatible with the security of the Reformed opinions.<sup>2</sup> Haunted, and not without cause<sup>3</sup>, by the fear that, in order to avoid the odium of a public execution, Elizabeth would endeavour to have her privately assassinated, Mary wrote her last letter to the woman who, after promising to befriend her, had pursued her with such implacable enmity.

“Madam—I bless God with my whole heart,

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Scotland*, II.

<sup>2</sup> Tytler III, 328.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth's proposal to Sir Amyas Paulet, Mary Stuart's rough and brutal gaoler, to save her the unpleasant consequences of signing the death warrant of her unfortunate victim, and Paulet's indignant refusal to stain his honour by committing murder, are matter of history.

that, by means of your final judgment, He is about to put a period to the wearisome pilgrimage of my life. I make no petition that it should be prolonged, having already but too well known its bitterness. I only now supplicate your Highness, that, since I cannot hope for any favour from those exasperated Ministers who hold the highest offices in your state, I may obtain, from your own sole bounty, these three favours :—

First. As it would be vain for me to expect a burial in England, accompanied by the Catholic rites practised by the ancient monarchs, your ancestors and mine, and since the sepulchres of my fathers have been broken up and violated in Scotland, I earnestly request that, as soon as my enemies shall have glutted themselves with my innocent blood, my body may be carried by my servants to be interred in holy ground, above all, I could wish, in France, where rest the ashes of the Queen, my most honoured mother. Thus shall this poor body, which has never known repose as long as it was united to my soul, have rest at last, when it and my spirit are disunited.

Secondly. I implore your Majesty, owing to the terror I feel for the tyranny of those to whose charge you have abandoned me, let me not be put to death in secret, but in the sight of my servants and others. These persons will be witnesses to my dying in the Faith, and in obedience to the true Church; and it will be their care to rescue the close of my life and the last breathings of my spirit from the calumnies

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with which they may be assailed by my enemies.

“Thirdly, I request that my servants, who have clung to me so faithfully throughout my many sorrows, may be permitted freely to go where they please, and to retain the little remembrances which my poverty has left them in my will.

“I conjure you, madam, by the blood of Jesus Christ, by our near relationship, by the memory of Henry the Seventh, our common ancestor, by the title of Queen, which I bear even unto my death, refuse me not these poor requests, but assure me of your having granted them by a single word under your hand. I shall then die, as I have lived, your affectionate Sister and prisoner, Mary the Queen.”<sup>1</sup>

The “single word” was never written.

The day before her death Mary Stuart wrote to the King of Spain, making mention of her constant profession of the Catholic Faith, and assuring him that it was for that cause she was about to die. She begged him to remember her faithful servant, the Bishop of Ross, and to provide him with some ecclesiastical dignity which would afford him a living. The King, mindful of her wish, befriended Leslie and granted him a pension, but the news of Mary’s death, which reached him at Brussels, and which was received “by nearly the whole of Christendom with one

<sup>1</sup> Jebb, *Vita et Rebus Gestis Serenissimae Principis Mariae Scotorum Reginae, Franciae Dotariae*.



loud burst of astonishment and indignation,"<sup>1</sup> caused Leslie such lasting sorrow, that he retired from public life to spend his last years in a Monastery of Augustinian Canons at Gertrudenberg where he died in May, 1596. A Bishop without a See, he was the last but one of the old hierarchy in Scotland. James VI, whose redeeming quality was a certain gratitude to those who had befriended his mother, had offered to reinstate him in his See of Ross, but Leslie, aware how powerless the King was to defend even himself against the Kirk, now at the height of its power, declined the invitation. What Catholic priests there were in Scotland were hiding in various disguises, among the hills and mountains, administering the Sacraments, at the risk of their lives, to the remnants of their flock. The Catholic nobility and gentry, ruined by fines or proscription, were seeking in foreign lands the liberty of conscience and worship denied them in their own. The inquisitorial persecution to which the lower classes were subjected is illustrated by contemporary documents and records.<sup>2</sup> The house to house visitation on Sundays, to threaten those who had not been to the sermon, the more

<sup>2</sup> Tytler, IX, 15. "The chief hope of the Romanist party," says Keble in his preface to Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* was removed, "though at the cost of a great national crime."

<sup>2</sup> *Registers of the Presbyteries. Chamber's Domestic Annals of Scotland. Narratives of Scottish Catholics, Forbes-Leith. Criminal Trials, Pitcairn. Acts of the General Assembly. Booke of the Universal Kirk.*

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serious punishments inflicted on those who had dared to be present at a Catholic service, or had even suffered a Catholic priest to cross their threshold. The prying vigilance, quick to detect the presence of any Catholic object of devotion or anything which held memories of the old Faith, were all parts of a petty persecution which went far to make life intolerable.

On the 22nd of February, runs an entry in the registers of the Presbytery of Glasgow, a woman named Marion Walker, was brought before the ministers, charged with "having a crucifix in her house." Marion, who had the courage of her convictions, not only admitted that the charge was true, but maintained that "if she had silver she would have mair of them, and that, when . . . upon it (some unnameable insult is represented in the modern reprint by a line of dots) "her heart was like to break." She had brought the said crucifix, she confessed, "out of a mirk chamber, and set it in the light." The order was given by the presbytery that "the crucifix be removed and destroyed," it being evident by her speeches "that the same was an idol to the said Marion."

"It has been decreed by Holy Church," wrote a great preacher and mystic of the Middle Ages, "that the Sacred Host should be elevated and shown to all, as if to speak to us and say : "Ecce Homo," behold the man ! in order to stir us up to bear ever in mind the Incarnation, Nativity,

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, Vol. I.

Passion, Death and Resurrection, and, in a word, all the love and all the benefits shown and conferred upon us by Christ. For the Holy Māss hath been instituted in remembrance of God's love, and of the works which for our sakes He hath accomplished. For the same reason it hath been decreed that there should be placed in all churches the image of the Holy Cross of Christ Jesus ; so that, as often as he crosseth the threshold of the temple, man may contemplate the Figure of his Maker hanging upon the Cross ; and that straightway there may come into his mind that wonderful love, which his God then declared to him ; and that he may so exercise and occupy himself therein as to forget all strange and outward images, and may imagine that his crucified Lord is saying to him : " Behold how I hang here, despised, mocked and racked, fastened with nails, wounded, deprived of all comfort, My arms naked and stretched out towards thee, to take thee back into My grace. Behold how I hang here, with My Head bowed down, that I may give thee the kiss of peace and reconciliation.

" Then man, turning himself, full of confidence, to God, and throwing himself down with lowly submission at Christ's pierced Feet, thinketh how he himself hath inflicted, by his foul sins, all this bitter sorrow on his Lord and God, and confesseth his sins with bitter sorrow and burning tears." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Meditations on the Life and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ*, John Tauler.



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But the leaders of religion in Scotland had cut themselves adrift from the great Church to whom these words embody a living truth, and, with eyes that could see no further than the outward sign, had pronounced the Mass idolatry and the crucifix an idol.

THE END.

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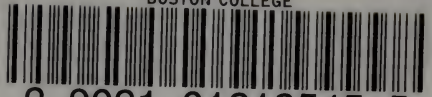








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